

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY

CENTRAL ARCHÆOLOGICAL
LIBRARY

CALL No. 737.05/N.C

Acc. No. 24938

D.G.A. 79.

GIPN—S4—2D. G. Arch. N.D./57.—23-9-58— 100,000.





THE
NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,
AND
JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

EDITED BY
JOHN YONGE AKERMAN,
FELLOW AND SECRETARY OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.
AND
W. S. W. VAUX, M.A., F.S.A.

24938

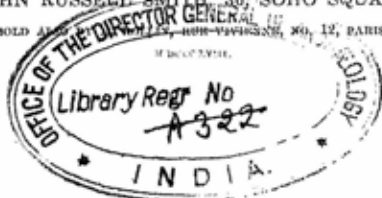
VOL. XIX.

* 1856, 1857.—JANUARY 1857.



Factum abili—monumenta iument.—Dr. Fied.

LONDON:
JOHN RUSSELL SMITH, 36, SOHO SQUARE.
SOLD ALSO BY THE DIRECTOR GENERAL, 17,
RUE VIVIENNE, NO. 12, PARIS.



**CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL
LIBRARY, NEW DELHI.**

Acc. No. 24938
Date..... 21.12.56
Call No. 737.05 / N.C.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY WESTHURST AND CO.,
CIRCUS PLACE, VINNIBURY CIRCUS.

TO
SIR GEORGE MUSGRAVE, BART., F.S.A.

OF
EDEN HALL, IN THE COUNTY OF CUMBERLAND,
THIS,

OUR NINETEENTH VOLUME,

IS
INSCRIBED.





CONTENTS.

ANCIENT NUMISMATICS.

	Page
On Coins of Niniva, Termessus, etc. By W. S. W. Vaux .	1
Catalogue of Bactrian Coins. By Edward Thomas .	13, 49
Unpublished Types of Ancient British Coins. By John Evans	64
On a Tetradrachm of Alexander, struck at Aradus. By W. H. Scott	221
On a supposed Coin of Calynda. By W. H. Scott .	225
Note on the Coins of Meredates and Uiphoba. By W. H. Scott	226
On certain rare Greek Coins, recently acquired by the British Museum. By Thomas Burgon.	229

MEDÆVAL AND MODERN NUMISMATICS.

On a rare Noble of the first Coinage of Edward IV. By John Evans	8
Curious Counterfeit Sterling. By Renier Chalou .	11
Stray Leaves from the Journal of a Traveller in Search of Ancient Coins. By J. G. Pfister	85

CONTENTS.

ORIENTAL NUMISMATICS.

	Page.
Notice of a Mamluk Coin, struck by command of the Sultan Melik Dhâher Roka-ed-din Bibârs Bondokdari. By Dr. Loewe	71
On the Weight of Sassanian Coins. By Professor Mommsen	223
Memoir on the Lemlein Medal. By Dr. Loewe	237



MISCELLANEA.

Notice of a "Description Générale des Monnaies de la Republique Romaine communément appelées Médailles Consulaires." Par H. Cohen	46
The Coinage of England in 1856	228
Indo-Scythic Coins	228
Note on the word "Nānaka"	22





NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.

I.

ON COINS OF NINIVA, TERMESSUS, ETC.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, April 25th, 1855.]

SIR,

I HAVE much pleasure in laying before the Numismatic Society this evening, copies, in *gutta percha*, of two very curious coins lately acquired by the British Museum; the first of which bears the name on it of the celebrated city of Nineveh.

Though extremely rare, it is not actually unique—a similar coin having been described by M. Sestini.

The obverse bears the bust of the Emperor Trajan with the legend IMP. TRAIAN. CAE. AVG. GER. The reverse, an eagle with expanded wings between military standards, and the legend COL. AVG. FELI. NINI. CLAV.

There is no reason to doubt that the coin must have been struck to commemorate the foundation of a Roman colony at this place by the Emperor Claudius, who founded many similar colonies in many parts of the East. Moreover, this view is confirmed by the existence of another

coin of the time of Maximinus, with the bust of the Emperor on the obverse and the legend IMP. MAXIMINVS; and the reverse, a naked man holding an object resembling a bull's head in his left-hand, and with the legend COL. NINIVA · CLAVD.¹

From these coins we gather two important facts, first, that the new city was called *Niniva Claudiopolis*; and secondly, that coins were struck as late as A.D. 235. Sestini, indeed, who has published this coin, from the museum of the Baron de Chaudoir, states that other coins have been discovered belonging to the Emperors Severus, Alexander, and Gordianus Pius, and to the Empress Mammaea. If this be true, there must have been coins as late as A.D. 244.

It is curious, that we have no notice in history of the actual name of Claudiopolis; but apart from the evidence of the coins, we know that Niniva was a place of importance during the early part of the Roman Empire. Thus Tacitus, in describing the march of C. Cassius, who had been appointed by the Emperor Claudius to escort Meherdates, the new King, to Parthia, states, "Sed capta in transitu urbs Ninos, vetustissima sedes Assyriacæ, et Arbela, castellum insigne famâ, quod postremo inter Darium atque Alexandrum praelio Persarum illic opes conciderant" (Annal xii. 13); and even so late a writer as Ammianus twice mentions this ancient city: first, in his account of Constantius in A.D. 359, where he calls it "Ninive Adiabænæ ingens civitas"; and secondly, in A.D. 363, where he says in "hâc Adiabênâ Ninus est civitas quod olim Persidis regna possiderat, nomen Nini potentissimi Semiramidis Mariti declarans."

¹ The naked figure may be that of either Silenus, or of the god Lunus, who was venerated at Carrhæ.

It would be very interesting, were it possible now to determine which of the two great mounds of Koyunjik, or Nimrud, is the spot which in the fourth century of our era bore the name of Nineveh. I fear, however, that it is impossible to establish any certainty on this point. I believe that most of the Roman remains have been found in that of Nimrud, and among these may especially be noticed a hoard of Roman silver imperial coins ranging in dates between A.D. 74 and A.D. 201; with these were also found a number of terra-cotta figures and lamps. The coins, indeed, may easily have been buried, as has been suggested by Mr. Stuart Poole, by a Roman soldier, during the second expedition undertaken by Severus against the Arabs of Mesopotamia (A.D. 202), or during the Parthian war, which was carried on by the same emperor.

The other coin to which I shall call the attention of the society is one of great interest, and I believe, unique. It is an autonomous coin of the town of Termessus, in Pisidia, and has been only lately brought to this country. The history of the discovery is not known, so far as I am aware; but the coin has been sent to England by Mr. Finlay, of Athens, under cover to his friend, Mr. Stuart Poole, of the British Museum. To the kindness of the latter gentleman, the Society is indebted for the exhibition of the cast now on the table. Mr. Finlay procured it from M. Achilles Postolacca, who sent with it a paper containing the inscription, as he had read it, to the following effect:—

Obv.—Bearded head of Zeus Solymeus to right. ΤΕΡΜΙC-
CΕΩΝ. below Θ.

Rev.—With an olive wreath, ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΑ ΤΕΡΜΙCCE Η
ΤΟ ΚΑΗΟΥC ΕΞΟΥCΙΑ.

As this, however, would not make sense, it was sug-

gested that possibly the inscription might have been contracted, and that it had been originally

(H) ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΑ (ΠΟΛΙΣ) ΤΕΡΜΗCCEΩΝ Η ΤΟ(ΥC)
ΚΑΠΟΥC ΕΧΟΥCΑ.

ΚΑΠΟΥC being the Doric form for *Κήπους*, the sense being "which has the guardianship of the sacred enclosures, i.e., for the public games," etc. I confess, however, that I am doubtful of this explanation, as I am not aware of any reason for this appearance of the Doric dialect in Pisidia.

While I am writing, another, and I venture to think much better, explanation has been sent, by Colonel Leake, in a note to my colleague, Mr. Burgon, a cast having been sent to him by Mr. Poole, at Mr. Finlay's request. Colonel Leake writes as follows:—

"The coin is of copper (size 7). The obverse has the usual head of Jupiter Solymeus as well as the ☉ below it, which is found on other coins of Termessus, sometimes on both sides, and which stands in need of explanation. But the reverse of the coin is perfectly intelligible, and is very interesting as illustrating the bronze tablet at Rome relating to Termessus, which is published in the collections of Muratori and Gruter. The reverse of the coin consists entirely of the following inscription, in six lines, within a garland—ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΑ ΤΕΡΜΗCCE. Η ΤΟ Κ. ΑΥΤΟΥC ΕΧΟΥCΑ, *Ελεύθερα Τερμησσέ[ων πόλις] ἢ τὸ κ. αὐτοῦς* or *αὐτονόμους* (scil. τοὺς Τερμησσέας) *ἔχουσα*. "The free city of the Termessenses, which for the twentieth time (year) possesses the privilege of *autonomia*." *Αὐτοῦς* for *αὐτονόμους*, either from want of space, or possibly because it was not unusual to employ *αὐτὸς* in the sense of *αὐτόνομος*. That *αὐτόνομος* was intended can hardly be

doubted when we find *AYTONOMON* on many of the coins of Termessus.

"By the bronze tablet, the 'Thermeses Maiores Peisidae,' are made 'leiberi, amicei, socieique populei Romane, L. CELLIO, CN. LENTVLO COSS.' i.e., in the Consulship of Lucius Gellius Poplicola, and Cneius Cornelius, Lentulus Clodianus, the year of Rome 682, B.C. 72. The tablet, then, confirms them in the possession of everything they had, L. MARCIO, SEX IVLIO COSS. i.e., in the Consulship of Lucius Marcius, and Sextus Julius Cæsar, the year of Rome, 663, B.C. 91. The second column of the inscription on the tablet defines the different privileges, which the edict of freedom conferred, and is the best authority in illustration of the right of the *liberae civitates*, and of the word *ἐλευθερα*, which we find on so many Greek coins, and which may, perhaps, be hereafter found on some of those of Termessus.

"But on this question, it is unnecessary at present to dilate. It is sufficient, with reference to the Termessian coin in question, to observe that the time between the two Consulships accords exactly with the *το κ.* on the coin, and leaves no doubt that the Termessenses became *Ἀυτονόμοι* in the year 91 B.C., and *Ἐλευθέροι* in 72 B.C., consequently that the coin was struck in the early part of 72 B.C. It appears, that the Termessenses took the side of the Romans in the Mithridatic war, which is alluded to in the tablet, that Mithridates, who is recorded as having ravaged Phrygia, deprived Termessus of some of its external possessions, among which islands are mentioned, and that all these were restored to them by the Romans. Undoubtedly it was the strong position of the city (see the Travels of Spratt and Forbes) that saved it from the king, and indeed was the great cause of the extraordinary opulence to which

it arrived, as evinced by its magnificent theatre and other remains. In their numismatic artists, they seem not to have been so fortunate."

The history of the town of Termessus is well known. Its name is spelt variously in different authors; as *τερμησσός* generally throughout Strab. xiii. p. 630; xiv. p. 666; Polyb. xxii. 18, 24; Ptol. v. 5: *τερμεσός* Hierocl. p. 680: *τερμησός* in Dionys. v. 859. Arrian, who describes the scheme whereby Alexander the Great took its fortress (i. 28), calls the place Telmessus. It was situated on a rapid torrent called Catarrhactes, and guarded the pass leading to Milyas (Strab. xiii. 631; xiv. 666). It was about twenty-seven or twenty-eight English miles from Perge. Part of this country appears once to have belonged to the Lycians, and was possibly the land of the Solymi mentioned in Herodotus. Near the town was the *Βελλεροφόντου χάραξ* (Strab. xiii. p. 630), a legend which again connects it with Lycia.²

On the coins the usual legends are ΤΕΡΜΗCCEΩΝ, more or less abbreviated, with the heads and symbols of various deities, as Zeus, Zeus Nikephoros, Apollo, Pallas, Heracles, Mars (?) and Fortune. On one, too, in the British Museum is the representation of a man seated in a chair to the left, with the inscription COAYMOC, which evidently refers to the Hero Eponymus of the city.³ On other coins occurs the legend ΤΕΡΜΗCCEΩΝ ΤΩΝ

² Indeed Strabo himself says, *καὶ οἱ αὐτὰ οἱ Τερμησσεῖς Σόλυμοι καλοῦνται*; and the mountain over the town bore the name of *Τὰ Σόλυμα*.

³ Two inscriptions in Bockh:—No. 4366 *l*, and 4366 *q*, shew that there must have been a temple to Zeus Solymeus in this place, as a penalty is named in these *ἐπεὶ ἐκρίθη(ι) Διὶ Σόλυμῳ* *q.

MEIZONON, which confirms the statement of Stephanus Byzantinus *ἔστι καὶ ἄλλη ταύτης ἄποικος [καὶ αὐτὴ Πισιδίας] λεγομένη μικρά ὡς ἡ προτέρα μελζων.*

On other coins we find not unfrequently the word *αὐτονόμων*, with various dates, as I. A. (11), *θι* (19), *κθ.* (29), L·MA (41), etc.

Imperial coins of this place have been met with till a late period of the Roman empire, Sestini having published one, on which is CTP. KAA., and a figure on horseback, which he attributes to Claudius Gothicus (Mus. Hedervar. p. 272).

The presumed remains of Termessus have been visited and described by several modern travellers. One of the earliest of them, Paul Lucas, considers that those at Schenel or Istenaz represent the site of this ancient city (Travels, vol. i. c. xxxiii. p. 242).

Colonel Leake adds, that Istenaz is doubtless the place called Stenez in Spratt's Journey, i. p. 244. Spratt names the ruins Guleluk. They are situated at 4400 feet above the sea, at a direct distance of fifteen geographical miles from Adalia (Attalcia). They are little more than half way from Adalia to Stenez. Since this paper was read the coins have been engraved.

W. S. W. VAUX.

II.

ON A RARE NOBLE OF THE FIRST COINAGE OF
EDWARD IV.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, May 22nd, 1856.]

I HAVE the pleasure of laying before the Society a second specimen of the excessively rare noble of the first coinage of Edward IV. It is now nearly four years since I first exhibited and called attention to one of these coins, which I then regarded as unique, an account and engraving of which will be found in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. XVI. 38. The present specimen is, however, from different dies; from the former it varies in several particulars. On the obverse, there is a pellet on either side of the king's head, instead of only one upon his right side. The ropes of the ship are more smooth and less twisted, and the bars across the poop of the ship extend further inwards. The relative position of the letters of the legend is also slightly varied. This latter is also the case on the reverse, while the \mathfrak{C} in the centre bears some traces as on the other specimen of having been struck over an \mathfrak{D} , showing that the die was originally intended for the nobles of Henry IV. The weight is $107\frac{1}{2}$ grains, that of my other noble being $107\frac{1}{2}$ grains, and the same as the noble of Henry V. and VI., while the usual weight of the subsequent rials of Edward IV., is $119\frac{1}{2}$ grains. These two coins are the only examples known of the first gold coinage of Edward IV. in 1464; and their extreme rarity is apparently to be accounted for

by the fact, that at the time when they were ordered to be struck, the relative value of silver to gold, was such that they were intrinsically worth more as bullion, than their current value. Under these circumstances, but very few could have been minted, and those must in most cases speedily have found their way to the melting pot. So rare, indeed, have the pieces of the coinage of 1464 always been, that all the early chroniclers, with the exception of Stow, have confounded it with that of the subsequent year. As I stated on a former occasion, the indenture of 1464, with William Lord Hastings, under which these pieces appear to have been coined, is still extant, and a proclamation also of the same time authorises the currency of these nobles of 107½ grains, or fifty to the pound tower, at eight shillings and fourpence each. In the subsequent year 1465, it was found necessary to make a second indenture with Lord Hastings, altering the proportion of gold and silver, and authorising the coining of the rials of 119½ grains or forty-five to the pound troy, but current for ten shillings, while the weight of the silver coin remained unaltered. The pound of gold, if minted in 1464, was therefore made to be current at £20 16s. 8d., while in 1465, it was current for £22 10s. This great variation in value must, however, have been the growth of many years, and could not have been of sudden occurrence. It is, therefore, but reasonable to suppose that the real value of gold as compared with silver, must have been nearly the same in 1464 as in the subsequent year, and that these nobles which were struck to be current at 8s. 4d., and believed by those in authority to be worth no more, were in reality worth 9s., or nearly so. Their disappearance from circulation, and the lack of bringing in bullion into the mints, of which the proclamation complains, would follow as a matter of course,

and the indenture of 1465, by which nobles, if they had been coined of the same weight, would have been current for 9s., shews that the enhancement of the value of gold had at length forced itself into notice, and caused the necessary provisions to be made for maintaining it in circulation. Among the many causes which may operate to produce rarity in coins, or even make them as entirely to disappear as if they had never been struck, there is none so sure and fatal in its results, as that the coin, even at its first appearance in circulation, should be worth intrinsically as bullion more, no matter how little, more than its nominal value. How certainly and distinctively this apparently not very important circumstance has operated on the nobles of the first coinage of Edward IV., is proved by the fact, that notwithstanding the care and attention that during two centuries at least, have been paid to the collecting and describing the series of English gold coins, the two specimens now before you are the sole survivors that have come down to our times; and there is no record of any others having been met with, though the fact that these two are struck from different dies, shews that there were more than a few trial pieces minted. I may add, that the two coins were found at an interval of some years, and in different parts of the country, and that their beautiful preservation, at the same time that it enhances their value and interest, places their authenticity beyond a doubt. The half and quarter nobles of this coinage have yet to be discovered.

JOHN EVANS.

III.

CURIOUS COUNTERFEIT STERLING.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, January 31st, 1856.]

MY DEAR SIR,

I have been favoured by Monsieur R. Chalon of Brussels with a note, of which the following is a translation:—

“My learned friend the Chevalier Thomson of Copenhagen, has made us acquainted in the thirteenth volume of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, with several imitations of the sterlings of Henry III. I forward the drawing of an example of these imitations, which appears to me very curious. The care which has been taken to assimilate the type and legends of this piece with the prototype, must have led most successfully to its being confounded with the English pennies of Henry.

Obv.—Full-faced bearded crown head, surrounded by the legend hENRIQVS REX TRAS.

R.—The ordinary type of the long cross, QMI | TEL | EVE | ION

I propose to read the legend thus:—

HENRICVS REX TeodeR iCi CoMITis CLEVE IOHannes
(Monetarius).

The name *Teoderici* is here made to stand for *Terci* in the original coin. *Johannes* is also the name of a moneyer of Henry, while the letters *EVE*¹ of the word *Cleve*, might stand for *York*.

¹ *Cleve* (*Clevae*), for *Clivias*, is found in several Latin charters. See Lacomblat, *Urkundenbuch für die geschichte des Nieder-Rheins*.

The practice of placing on the reverse the name of the moneyer in the English coins of this period, is not without examples in the imitations. We find it on one of the sterlings published by M. Thomson. M. Vander Chys has reproduced it in his beautiful work on the coins of guilders;¹ WILLEM ARNEMI (*William in Arneim*). This name is clearly that of a moneyer, since there was not a prince of the name of William in guilders at that period.

The Theirri, Count of Clives, to which we assign the piece which is the subject of this note, must be one of the four counts of that name who reigned successively from 1244 to 1311.

This coin belongs to the collection of my friend and colleague M. L. De Coster.

RENIER CHALON.

The Numismatic Society will doubtless duly appreciate the attention of M. Chalon, and consider this an interesting addition to the somewhat numerous list of "counterfeit sterlings."

I am, my dear Sir,

Yours sincerely,

J. Y. AKERMAN.

To W. S. W. VAUX, Esq.,

President of the Numismatic Society.

¹ De Munten der voormalige graven en Hertogen van Gelderland, etc. *Haarlem*, 4to, 1852.



A	⌘	17	⌘	32a	⌘	50	⌘	71	⌘
B	{ ⌘ ⌘	a	⌘	33	⌘	51	⌘	72	⌘
N ^o 1	⌘	18	⌘	34	M		⌘	73	⌘
2	⌘	a	⌘	35	⌘	52	⌘	74	⌘
a	⌘	19	⌘	a	⌘	53	⌘	a	⌘
3	⌘	a	⌘	36	⌘		⌘	b	⌘
a	⌘	b	⌘	a	⌘	54	⌘	75	⌘
4	⌘	20	⌘	37	⌘		⌘	a	⌘
5	⌘	21	⌘	a	⌘	55	⌘	76	⌘
6	K	22	⌘	b	⌘	56	⌘	77	⌘
a	⌘	23	⌘	38	⌘	a	⌘	a	⌘
7	⌘	a	⌘	39	⌘	57	⌘	78	⌘
8	⌘	b	⌘	40	⌘	58	⌘	79	⌘
9	N	aa	⌘		⌘	59	⌘	80	⌘
10	⌘	24	⌘	41	⌘	60	⌘	81	⌘
11	{ ⌘ ⌘	a	⌘	a	⌘	61	⌘	82	⌘
12	⌘	b	⌘	42	⌘	62	⌘	83	⌘
a	⌘	25	⌘	43	⌘	63	⌘	a	⌘
13	⌘	26	⌘	44	⌘	64	⌘	84	⌘
14	⌘	a	⌘	45	⌘	65	⌘	85	⌘
15	⌘	27	⌘	46	⌘	66	⌘	86	⌘
a	⌘	28	⌘	47	⌘	67	⌘	87	⌘
16	⌘	29	⌘	a	⌘		⌘	88	⌘
17	⌘	30	⌘	b	⌘	68	⌘	89	⌘
		31	⌘	48	⌘	69	⌘		
		32	⌘	49	⌘	70	⌘		

90 E	109 22 下 4 天	127 𠂔	144 𠂔 𠂔	165 𠂔
91 E	110 𠂔	128 𠂔	145 𠂔 de	166 𠂔
92 W	111 𠂔	a 𠂔	146 de 𠂔	167 𠂔
93 𠂔	112 𠂔	129 𠂔	147 𠂔 𠂔	168 𠂔
94 𠂔	a 𠂔	130 𠂔	148 𠂔 𠂔	169 𠂔
a 𠂔	113 𠂔	131 𠂔	149 𠂔 𠂔	170 𠂔
95 𠂔	with 𠂔	132 𠂔	150 𠂔 𠂔	171 𠂔
96 𠂔	114 M. 𠂔	133 𠂔	and 𠂔 and 𠂔	172 𠂔
97 𠂔	115 𠂔 𠂔	a 𠂔	151 𠂔 𠂔	173 𠂔
98 K	a 𠂔 𠂔	134 𠂔	152 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔	174 𠂔
a K	116 𠂔	135 𠂔	𠂔 𠂔 𠂔	175 𠂔
99 𠂔	117 𠂔	a 𠂔	153 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔	176 𠂔
100 𠂔	118 𠂔	b 𠂔	154 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔	177 𠂔
101 𠂔	119 𠂔	136 𠂔	155 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔	178 𠂔
102 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔	a 𠂔	137 𠂔	156 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔	179 𠂔
103 𠂔	120 𠂔	a 𠂔	157 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔	a 𠂔
a 𠂔	121 𠂔	138 𠂔	158 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔	180 𠂔
104 𠂔	122 𠂔	139 𠂔	159 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔	181 𠂔
105 𠂔	123 𠂔	140 𠂔	160 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔	a 𠂔
106 𠂔	a 𠂔	with 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔	161 𠂔	b 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔
a 𠂔	124 𠂔	𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔	a 𠂔	
107 𠂔	125 𠂔	141 𠂔	b 𠂔	
a 𠂔	126 𠂔	with 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔	c 𠂔	
108 𠂔	a 𠂔	a 𠂔 𠂔	162 𠂔	
a 𠂔	127 𠂔	142 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔	163 𠂔 𠂔	
109 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔	a 𠂔	143 𠂔 de	164 𠂔	



IV.

CATALOGUE OF BACTRIAN COINS.

THE following Catalogue of Bactrian Coins has been compiled with a view to its insertion as a supplemental *résumé* or appendix to the forthcoming reprint of James Prinsep's "Numismatic Essays."¹ It will be found to contain a detail of all the published specimens of any real importance, together with notices of such novelties as the editor of the work feels himself authorised to quote from unedited documents² and public or private collections.

This abstract, confessedly incomplete as it is, will nevertheless furnish a concise groundwork for a more comprehensive catalogue, such as the progress of our knowledge may hereafter demand; and, in the meantime, it may be

¹ The Numismatic Essays of the late James Prinsep, F.R.S., Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Collected and edited, with additional matter, by Edward Thomas, Esq., Bengal Civil Service. 2 vols. 8vo. With about 46 plates of coins. [The work will include all Prinsep's Numismatic papers, as well as his "Useful Tables of Coins, Weights, and Measures of British India," and the "Chronological and Genealogical Tables of Ancient India."] Stephen Austin, Hertford.

² I insert this reservation with especial reference to the plates of Major Cunningham's promised work on the successors of Alexander in the East, which that diligent collector obligingly communicated to me some years since in anticipation of the due course of publication. At the same time, I must remark that I do not feel myself called upon to exercise any similar restraint in regard to such new coins as may chance to be figured in these engravings, which I am in a position to cite independently from counterpart originals.

accepted as a definite advance upon any of those lists that have previously appeared in the Numismatic Chronicle.

To thus much of preface, I may add that I am not prepared, at this moment, to enter into any discussion on the epochs or the serial order of the different monarchs, nor do I wish to attempt any elucidation of the complex subject of monograms and mint-marks. For the former, I content myself with reproducing the results arrived at by those writers who have had opportunities of reviewing the question in its more mature aspect; and, for the latter, I confine myself to an exhibition of the positive data upon which future opinions may safely be formed.

I now proceed to cite the classification and distribution proposed severally by Wilson, Bartholomæi, Cunningham, and Lassen, following the order of priority of publication by each author.

No. 1.

GREEK DYNASTIES.—GENERAL LIST.

H. H. WILSON.

	B.C.		B.C.
Theodotus I.	256	Philoxenes	130
Theodotus II.	240	Antialkides	135
Euthydomas	220—190	Archebius	125—120
Demetrius	190	Menander	126
Eukratides	181	Apollodotus	110
Heliokles	147	Diomedes	100
Lysias	147	Hermæus	98
Amyntas	135	Agathokles	135
Agathokleia		Pantaleon	120
Antimachus	140		

BARBARIC KINGS.

SU-HKRMÆUS, KADAPHES, KADPHISES.

Mayas	100	Azas	50
Palirius	80	ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ, <i>King</i>	
Spalyrus	75	of <i>Kings</i>	
Azilises	60		

INDO-PARTHIAN DYNASTY.

Vonones	Kodes
Undopherres	Miscollaneous Arsacidan
Gondophares	Kings
Abagasus	

INDO-SCYTHIAN PRINCES OF KABUL.

Kadphises	Oerki
Kancrki	Baraoro
Kenorano	Sassanians

CONTEMPORARY CLASSIFICATION.

Euthydemus.	
Demetrius	Eukratides.
Lysias	Helioekles.
Amyntas	Antialkides . Antimachus Agathokles
Agathokleia	Archebius . Philoxenes . Menander . Pantaleon
	Apollodotus
	Diomedes
	Hermæus
	Su-Hermæus (?)

A. A., p. 267, published 1841.

No. 2.

M. DE BARTHOLOMÆI'S LIST.

1. Défection de la Bactriane et commencement du règne de Diodote, vers 256 av. J. C.
2. Agathoclès succède à son père, vers 240 av. J. C.
Euthydème s'empare du trône de la Bactriane par le meurtre d'Agathoclès 215 av. J. C.
4. Pantaléon se maintient dans le Kaboulistan oriental contre Euthydème jusque, vers 214 av. J. C.
5. Guerre d'Euthydème avec Antiochus après 210 av. J. C.
6. Traité de paix, conclu avec le Roi de Syrie vers 206 av. J. C.
7. Euthydème fait des conquêtes dans l'Ariane et l'Arachosie, vers 200 av. J. C.
8. Demétrius fils d'Euthydème succède à son père, vers 190 av. J. C.
9. Eucratides s'empare de la royauté dans la Bactriane, Demétrius fonde une monarchie dans l'Arachosie et dans les contrées de l'Inde qui avaient été conquises par son père vers 181 av. J. C.

10. Eucratides fait pendant plusieurs années la guerre à Démétrius et finit par s'emparer de ses états, vers 164 av. J. C.
11. Eucratides étend ses conquêtes dans l'Inde, vers 160 av. J. C.
12. Meurtre d'Eucratide, par son fils Héliocles, qui s'empare de la couronne en Bactriane, vers 155 av. J. C.
Ici commence le démembrement graduel de la monarchie, et les données historiques semblent nous manquer pour tenter même un ordre chronologique quelconque.
13. Antimachus fonde un royaume dans la Drangiane?
14. Antialcides réunit sous sa domination l'Arachosie et le Kaboulistan oriental.
15. Ménéandre fonde un puissant royaume dans l'Inde.
16. Arsace VI., Mitridate I^{er} roi Parthe, envahit la Drangiane, vers 145 av. J. C.
17. Chûte complète de la Monarchie grecque-bactrienne, proprement dite, vers 139 av. J. C.

Köhnes Zeitschrift, 1843, p. 76.

The subjoined list has been abstracted from Major Cunningham's lithographed table in the eighth volume of this Journal. It will be found to enter into an elaborate detail of the epochal and territorial distribution of the various divisions of the Bactrian empire. The assignment of the geographical boundaries is understood to have been primarily based upon the author's interpretations of the mint monograms discovered on the coins of the different kings. It is needless to add, that the results must be received with considerable caution, as most of our readers are sufficiently aware of the difficulties enviroing the definition of the true value of monogrammatic combinations, as well as the obstacles that exist to their satisfactory application under even a well-defined system of comparative geography, a department in which we are sadly deficient in regard to the countries chiefly in question.

No 3.

MAJOR CUNNINGHAM'S TABLE.

NO.	B.C.	<i>Num. Chron.</i> viii. 175.
1	256	Diodotus I. } Bactriana (including Sogdiana, Bactria,
	243	Diodotus II. } and Margiana).
2	247	Agathocles } Paropamisadæ and Nysa.
3	227	Pantaleon }
4	220	Euthydemus — Bactriana, Ariana (including Aria, Drangia, Arachosia, and Paropamisadæ), Nysa, and subsequently Gandharitis, Peukelaotis, and Taxila.
5	196	Demetrius — ditto, ditto; and, later in his reign, Patalene, Syrastrène, Larice.
6	190	Heliocles — Bactriana and Paropamisadæ.
7	190	Antimachus Theos — Nysa, Gand., Peuk., and Taxila.
8	185	Eucratides — Bactriana, Ariana, besides Patalene, Syrastrène, and Larice, as well as Nysa, Gand., Peuk., and Taxila.
9	173	Antimachus Nikephoros — Nysa, Gand., Peuk., and Taxila, contemporarily with Eucratides' retention of the rest of his dominions.
10	165	Philoxenes — succeeds to Antimachus Nikephoros' kingdom.
11		Nicias — ditto, with the exception of Taxila.
12	165	Apollodotus succeeds Eucratides in Ariana, as well as Pata., Syr., Lar.
13		Zoilus }
14		Diomedes } follow Apollodotus in Ariana alone.
15		Dionysius }
16	159	Lysias — succeeds these in Paropamisadæ, and obtains Nicias' dominion of Nysa, Gand., and Peuk.; while Mithridates I. possesses himself of Ariana, having previously gained Margiana from Eucratides.
17	150	Antialcidas — succeeds to Lysias' kingdom.
18		Amyntas }
19		Archebius } follow Antialcidas.
20	161-140	Menander — reigns in Paropamisadæ, Nysa, Gand., Peuk., Taxila, Por. Reg., Cath., Patalene, Syr., Lar.
21	135	Strato — succeeds, with the exception of the countries of Pata., Syr., Lar., which fall to Maues.
22		Hippostratus }
23		Telephus } follow Strato.

- 24 126 Hermæus—rules over Parop., Nysa, Gand., Peuk.
(The Su-Sakas obtain Aria, Dr., and Arach., from
the Parthians).
- 25 Mauns—has Taxila, Por. Reg., Cath., Pata., Syr., Lar.
- 26 105 Kadphises (Yuchi) — takes possession of Hermæus'
kingdom, and Taxila from Mauns (Kozola Kadaphes).
- 27 Vonones }
28 Spalygis } Paropamisadæ.
29 Spalirises }
- 30 110 Azas—succeeds Mauns, obtaining also, in 90 n.c.,
Nysa, Gand., and Peuk.
- 31 80 Azilisas—succeeds Azas in the three latter, adding
Taxila, and the Paropamisadæ.
- 32 80 The Soter Megas obtains the dominions of Azas,
and subsequently those of Azilisas.
- 60 The Yuchi again possess Parop., Nysa, and Tax., etc.
- 33 26 Gondophares—reigns in Ariana.
- 34 Abdagases (and Sinnakes or Adinnigaus)—ditto in
ditto, less the Parop.
- A.D.
- 35 44 Arsaces (Ornospades or Orthomasdes)—ditto ditto.
- 36 107 Pakores Monnesses—do. do. (Hiathelah in Bactriana).
[36^a Orthagnes.]
- 207 Artemon—in Aria, Drangia, Arachosia.
Sassanians.

No. 4.

M. LASSEN'S LIST.

DIE GRIECHISCH-BAKTRISCHEN UND GRIECHISCH-
INDISCHEN KÖNIGE.

1. DIE GRIECHISCH-BAKTRISCHEN.

Diodotus I., vor 250 vor Chr. G.

Diodotus II., seit 237 Agathokles, in Badakshan
und am obern Indus
seit 245.

Euthydemus, unabhängig seit 245;

in Baktrien seit 222; Pantaleon.

Demetrios, seit 205; beseigt um 165.

Eukratides, nach 180.

Heliokles, seit 160; Lysias, nach 165; Antimachus, seit 170.

Archebios, 150-140; Antialkides; . Philoxenos, um 160.

Amyntas.

2. DIE GRIECHISCH-INDISCHEN KÖNIGE.

Apollodotos, nach 160.

Zoilos und Dionysios.

Menandros, seit 144.

Straton, um 124.

Hippostratos, nach 114.

Diomedes, Nikias, Telephos, zwischen 114 u. 100.

Hermaios, 100—85.

No. 5.

DIE INDOSKYTHISCHEN UND PARTHISCHEN KÖNIGE.

1. ÇAKA-KÖNIGE.

Mayes, nach 120 vor Chr. G. Vonones, kurz vor u. nach Chr. G.

Azilises, um 100.

Spalygis.

Azes, seit 95.

Yndopherres, um. 90.

Spalirises um 60.

Abdagases, von 40 bis 30.

2. JUBITCHI-KÖNIGE.

Kadphises I., nach 85 vor Chr. G.

Kadaphes, und seine namenlosen Nachfolger etwa bis 60 v. Chr. G.

Kadphises II., seit 24 vor Chr. G., bis etwa 1.

3. TURUSKA-KÖNIGE.

Hushka oder Oerki, von etwa 10 vor bis 5 nach Chr. G.

Gushka, bis 10 nach Chr. G.

Kanishka oder Kanerki, bis 40.

Balan, bis 45.

Oer Kenorano, bis 60.

Indische Alterthumskunde, vol. ii. p. xxiv., published 1852.

As I have already intimated that I am unwilling to enter upon any such comprehensive review of the general subject as should justify my attempting to recast the order of succession of the Greek princes of Bactria and Northern India, it becomes necessary that I should adopt, for the moment, some one of the lists above quoted, to serve as a basis for

the arrangement of this catalogue. I have therefore selected for the purpose that of Major Cunningham, as being more full in names, more facile of reference, and as grounded upon an examination of by far the most ample series of original specimens.

The table, it will be seen, was published many years ago, and I have no doubt its author would now be prepared to subject it to extensive modifications. I shall perhaps be pardoned, therefore, for anticipating some of the more obviously needed emendations. I have avoided complicating this outline catalogue with any notes or illustrations of the palæographic or linguistic peculiarities of the Arian legends, which are merely given *literatim* in *Italic* characters — their intent and meaning is ordinarily patent in the parallel Greek versions, of which indeed they were themselves mere translations. For all these matters, I must refer the reader to the original work, from which this article is an extract.

I have equally abstained from entering at any length into the details of the later Arian monograms, and restricted my facsimiles to the more interesting Greek combinations used in the series.

It may be necessary to explain that a degree of difficulty has been experienced in the allocation of the several varieties of these literal compounds. Some examples, that depart but slightly from outlines previously entered, have been inserted in the plates independently in their modified form, to avoid the risk of the omission of what might eventually prove to be a separate symbol. And, further, some monograms have been intentionally repeated, with a view to bring more distinctly together the complete group pertaining to a given monarch.

I. DIODOTUS.

1.—Gold.

Obv.—Head of the king, with fillet, to the right.

Rev.—Erect figure of Jupiter, in the act of hurling the thunderbolt; eagle in front of his left foot; a chaplet in the field; no monog. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ.

R. Rochette, Jour. des Sav., Ariana Antiqua, p. 218.
Trésor de Numismatique, pl. lxxii. 4.³

2.—Tetradrachma. Similar types (Cunningham, *Num. Chron.* viii. 178, and unpublished plates.)

Monog., No. 1, with Ξ The chaplet is omitted.

^a)—Drachma. Similar types to No. 1.

M. de Bartholomæi, Köhnes Zeitschrift, 1843, p. 75. *Monog.*, No. 2, with the first symbol classed under B.

Mr. Stokes and D. M. Coins, Monograms uncertain.

Major Cunningham further cites the Monograms No. 2^a from the Coins of Diodotus.

II. COINS OF AGATHOCLES.

1.—Tetradrachma.

Obv.—Head, with fillet, to the right. ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΥΓΓΡΟΣ.

Rev.—Erect figure of Jupiter, as in Diodotus' coins.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ.

Monog., No. 3 (with chaplet).

M. de Bartholomæi, Köhnes Zeitschrift, 1843, pl. iii. 2, p. 67.

³ Coins bearing similar devices, from the mint of Antiochus II., may be referred to in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, pl. vii. fig. 2, vol. ii.; *Prinsep's Essays*, pl. ii., fig. 1, p. 25; *Burnes's Bokhâra*, pl. iii., fig. 8; *A. A.*, p. 219; *Trésor de Numismatique*, lxxii. 3. Monograms: *Mr. Gibbs' coin* (Tetrad.) A; *Mr. Freres' coin* (Drachma) B.

2.—Tetradrachma, figured in pl. xiii. 3.⁴

Obv.—Head of king.

Rev.—Jupiter, with the left hand resting on a spear, and the right holding a figure of Diana Lucifera. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

Monog., No. 17. Mr. Gibbs' coin has the same monogram. *Trésor de Numismatique*, lxxiv. Monog. 17^a.

^a)—Drachma. Similar types.

Monog., No. 3. *J. des Sav.*, June, 1834. *A.A.*, vi. 4.

3.—Drachma.

Obv.—Head of Bacchus.

Rev.—Panther. *Legend*—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

J. des Sav., 1834. *A.A.*, vi. 5. *Trésor de Numismatique*, lxxiv. 2.

4.—○ Copper. Types as in No. 3, with the addition of the vine in front of the panther on the reverse.

Monog., No. 4. *ΑΡΑΧΩΣΙΑ* (?) *A.A.*, vi. 6. *Num. Jour.*, vii., pl. iii. 30.

⁴ As the collected edition of Prinsep's Essays, to which the numbers of these plates correspond, is as yet unpublished, and as many readers may wish to refer to the originals in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, I append a list of the headings of the joint series of engravings, defining the parallel references.

Pl. II. Prinsep's Essays = Pl. No. XI. Vol. II. J. A. S. B. 1833.

III.	.....	=	... XIV.	.....	...
VIII.	.....	=	... XXVI.	Vol. III.	1834.
XIII.	.....	=	... XXV.	Vol. IV.	1835.
XIV.	.....	=	... XXVI.	.....	...
XV.	.....	=	... XXI.	.....	...
XVI.	.....	=	... XXII.	.....	...
XVII.	.....	=	... XXIII.	.....	...
XVIII.	.....	=	... XXIV.	.....	...
XXI.	.....	=	... LI.	.....	...
XXII.	.....	=	... XXXVIII.	.....	...
XXIII.	.....	=	... XXXIX.	.....	...
XXVIII.	.....	=	... XXXV.	Vol. v.	1836.
XXXII.	.....	=	... XLVI.	.....	...
XLIII.	.....	=	... XXVIII.	Vol. VII.	1838.

5.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Panther to the right. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

Rev.—Bacchante. *Legend*, in Indian-Pāli, *Agathuklayasa*.

Plate xxviii, 9; also *A. A.*, vi., 7, 8, 9.

Some varieties of these coins display mint marks or letters on the right of the Bacchante. The character is usually formed like a modern Hebrew \beth , it may be either an Arian γ *d*, or a Pāli \perp *ne*; at times, again, it takes the form of an Arian \dagger *te* or *re*. An analogous piece, in the British Museum, exhibits the Greek letters, ΣΗ, on the obverse.

III. PANTALEON.

1.—□ Copper. Types similar to No. 5. Agathocles.

Ob.—Panther. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΠΑΝΤΑΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ.

Rev.—Bacchante. *Legend*, in Indian-Pāli, *Pantalevasa*.

Monog.— \beth , etc. Pl. xxviii. 8; also *A. A.*, vi. 11.

IV. EUTHYDEMUS.

1.—Gold.

Obv.—Head of king to the right, with fillet.

Rev.—Hercules seated on a rock, resting his club on a pile of stones. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ.

Monog., No. 5.

Pellerin, *Additions aux Médailles des Rois*, p. 95. *A. A.* i. 1.

2.—Tetradrachma. Plate ii., fig. 3. *A. A.*, i., 2, 3, 4.

Obv., as in No. 1.

Rev.—Hercules, etc., with his club resting on his right knee.⁵

Monogs., Nos. 6, 7, 18, 19.

Variant, pl. xiii. 1. *Rev.* type as in gold coin. *Monog.*, No. 14.

Jour. des Sav., July, 1834, *Monog.*, No. 8.

Other coins have *Monogs.*, Nos. 9, 10, 16, 18.

A. A., xxi. 1, has 9 with 10.

^{*)}—Drachma, similar types.

⁵ Where the legends are omitted, they are to be understood to be identical with those cited on the latest occasion.

3.—Tetradrachma. Pl. xxxii. 3.

Obv.—Head of king.

Rev.—Hercules standing, to the front; head encircled with a chaplet; on the left arm are the club and lion's skin; right hand extended.

Monog., No. 17. See also *A. A.*, vi. 3.

Mr. Freres coin, in the British Museum, varies the reverse device, inasmuch as the right hand holds a second chaplet. *Monog.*, No. 7.

*)—Drachma, as No. 3. *A. A.*, i. 12.

4.—Didrachma.

Obv.—Laurelled head of Apollo to the left.

Rev.—Tripod. *R. Rochette, J. des Sav.*, Dec. 1838, p. 741.

5.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Bearded head, to the right.

Rev.—Horse, free. Pl. xxxii. 4. *A. A.*, i. 13, 14, 15.

6.—○ Copper (small).

Obv.—Head indistinct.

Rev.—Erect figure of Apollo to the left, with bow and arrow.
A. A., ii. 1.

7.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Head as in No. 4.

Rev.—Tripod.

Monog., No. 15. *Captain Hay; Trésor de Numismatique*,
lxxii. 11; also *Köhler*, pl. i. 3.⁶

V. DEMETRIUS.

1.—Tetradrachma. Head of king with fillet, to the right.

Rev.—Minerva armed, to the front. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ.

Monog., No. 12, with the letter Δ above the figure.

Jour. des Sav. (Hönigberger's coin), i. 4, 1835; re-engraved in *A. A.*, ii. 3. *Trés. de Num.*, lxxii. 14.

⁶ I have not been able to obtain a sight of Köhler's work, I quote his coins from Grotefend, *Die Münzen der Könige von Bactrien*, 1839.

2.—Tetradrachma.

Obv.—Head of king, to the right, with helmet fashioned like an elephant's head.

Rev.—Hercules, like No. 3, Euthydemus' device, but his right hand is upraised in the act of placing a chaplet on his brow, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΔΙΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ.

Mr. Gibbs' coin, monog. No. 17^a). Föhler, p. 321.

Monog., No. 7. R. Rochette, Jour. des Sav., 1838, p. 743.

B.M. coin monog. No. 11.

^a)—Oboli. Similar devices, pl. xiii. 2. *A. A.*, ii. 5, monog. 17^a.

M. R. Rochette notices a Triobolus of this type, J. des Sav., Deux. Supp. 16. Trésor Numismatique, p. 149.

^b)—No. 4, *A. A.*, has the neck of the king bare.

A second unpublished coin E. I. II. has the monog. No. 13.

3.—Copper.

Obv.—Head of Hercules.

Rev.—Apollo (?). *Monog., No. 13 (OΞ). A. A.*, xxi, fig. 3.

4.—Copper.

Obv. as No. 3.

Rev.—Hercules; the right arm is upraised towards the head of the figure. *Cunningham, J. A. S. B.*, xi. 130.

5.—Copper.

Obv.—Elephant's head.

Rev.—The Caduceus. *J. A. S. Bengal*, xi. 131.

VI. HELIOCLES.

1.—Tetradrachma.

Obv.—Head of king to the right.

Rev.—Jove with spear and thunderbolt. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

Grotefend, p. 30, quoting Catalogue d'Emery, p. 40. Trésor de Numismatique, lxxiii. 15.

Monog., No. 20.

A. A. pl. ii. fig. 6, monog. 12.

B.M. coins, monog. Nos. 8, 21 (weight of piece, 259·6 grs.)

Mr. Gibbs' coin, monog. No. 73.

A specimen in Lady Sale's collection has the same monogram as the piece first cited.

2.—Tetradrachma.

Obv.—Helmeted head.

Rev.—Imperfect (seated figure?). Capt. Hay.

3.—○ Plated copper (Drachma?).

Obv.—Helmeted head, closely resembling that of Eukratides, within a border of alternate drops and beads.

Rev.—Jove seated. *Legend* (blundered), ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΙΑΙΟΚΑΕΟΥΣ.

Mr. E. C. Bayley; also, Capt. Hay.

*—Drachma. Similar types. *Monog.* Ω. Capt. Hay.

4.—Hemidrachma.

Obv.—Head of king. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΗΑΙΟΚΑΕΟΥΣ.

Rev.—Jove, as above, No. 1. *Legend*, in Bactrian-Pāli or Arian characters, *Māhārajasa Dhamikasa Heliyakreyasa.*

A. A., xxi. 8. monog. No. 22, i. e. Σ.

The orthography of the name in the Arian varies at times to *Eliyakreyasa* and *Heliyakresasa*; the latter occurs on a coin in the E. I. H., with the monog. No. 7. Other hemidrachmas have monog. No. 23, and 23 with Σ.

5.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Head. Greek Legend as usual.

Rev.—Elephant to the left. Legend as in No. 4.

Pl. xliii. 7; and *A. A.*, ii. 7, monog. Σ. Other monogs. Nos. 7, 44. *E. I. C. coin.*

6.—□ Copper. As No. 5, but the elephant on the reverse is to the right. Pl. xliii. 8.

7.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Elephant, to the right. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΗΑΙΟΚΑΕΟΥΣ.

Rev.—Bull. *Māhārajasa Dhamikasa Heliyakreyasa.*

Capt. Hay.

* I am indebted to Mr. E. C. Bayley, of the Bengal Civil Service, for all notices of Captain W. E. Hay's coins. I myself have not seen that officer's valuable collection.

- 8.—Copper. Degraded type.

Obv.—Head.

Rev.—Figure as in No. 1. Legends imperfect. Pl. xxviii. 4.

- 9.—Copper. Degraded type.

Obv.—Head.

Rev.—Horse, free, to the left. Legends imperfect. Pl. xv. 12, 13, 14.

VII. ANTIMACHUS ΘΕΟΣ.

- 1.—Tetradrachma.^a

Obv.—"Head with fillet. ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΥΝΤΗΡΟΣ.

Rev.—Standing figure of Jupiter, with shield and javelin (?); eagle at his foot. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ."

Monogram not noted.

Capt. Hay.

- 2.—Tetradrachma.

Obv.—Head of king, to the right, with Causia.

Rev.—Neptune, to the front, with trident and palm-branch. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ.

Köhler, i. 10, reproduced by Mionnet, sup. viii. 466.

Monog., No. 82. *B.M.* coin, monog. No. 7. *Lady Sale's* coin, No. 82.

^a)—Hemidrachma (31·7 grs.). *B.M.* coin monog., No. 19^a.
A second monog. No. 82.

Major Cunningham (*J.A.S.B.*, ix, p. 531, etc.) describes a "plated" coin of Antimachus Theos, with the monog. Xo (Chorasnia?)

- 2^a).—Obolus. Similar types and legends to No. 2.

A.A., xxi. 12. Monog. 7.

^a It is needless to say, that, if this important coin proves to be genuine and is correctly described, Antimachus Theos must be moved upwards to a very different position in the list of the Bactrian kings.

VIII. EUCRATIDES.

1.—Tetradrachma.

Obv.—Uncovered head of the king, with fillet.

Rev.—Apollo, bow in the left, and arrow in the right hand.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ. Pl. xlii. 2.

Köhler, *A. A.*, iii. 4, monog. No. 19^a, 9

Lady Sale's collection boasts of a tetradrachma with a similar mint mark.

Hönlberger, *Jour. des Sav.*, Sept. 1835, i. 5. *Mionnet*, suppl. viii.

*)—Drachma. Similar types. Pl. xlii. 6. *Gen. Fox*, monog. 76.

2.—Obolus.

Obv.—Bare head of king.

Rev.—Cups and palm-branches of Dioscuri. Same legend as No. 1. Pl. xxxii. 10. Monogs. Nos. 7, 26, 32.

3.—Obolus.

Obv.—Helmeted head of king.

Rev. as in No. 2. *A. A.*, iii. 5. *Gen. Fox*, monog. No. 12^a.

E. I. H., 12^a and 34. *B. M.* monog. N.

4.—Tetradrachma.

Obv.—Bare head of king, to the right, with fillet.

Rev.—Dioscuri, charging; and monog. 7, B.M.

*)—Drachma. Similar types, *Trés. de Num.* lxxiii. 2.

5.—Tetradrachma. (Weight of E. I. H. coin, with suspending loop, 255.7 grs.)

Obv.—Helmeted head of king. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΛΑΝ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΗΣ.

Rev.—Male and female heads, uncovered and unadorned with fillets. ΗΑΙΟΚΛΑΘΕΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΛΟΔΙΚΗΣ.

Monog., No. 24. *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. v, pl. xxvii., fig. 1. Re-engraved in *A. A.*, pl. xxi., fig. 7, from the original coin.

Col. Sykes' cast, from a possibly genuine coin of this class, gives the monog. No. 17^a.

² Where my facsimiles differ from the published specimens, it must be understood that my copy is made from the original coin, and not from the engraving.

- 6.—Tetradrachma. (Weight of selected specimens in B. M., 258 and 259 grs.)

Obv.—Helmeted head, to the right.

Rev.—Dioscuri, charging. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ. Pl. xiii. 5. A. A., iii. 1, 2, 3.

Monogs. Nos. 24^a, 25, 26. *Lady Sale*, No. 27. B. M. 17^a, 24, 24^b, 28, and 29.

Mr. Bayley. Monog. $\frac{\psi}{\phi}$, with HT in the field.

- ^a)—Drachma. *Jour. des Sav.*, 1834, pl. v., and 1836, pl. ii. 3. *Trés. de Num.*, lxxiii. 6. B. M. monog. N.

- 7.—Tetradrachma.

Obv.—Helmeted head of the king, to the left, with a portion of the bust displayed; the right arm raised in the act of darting a javelin.

Rev.—Dioscuri. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

Monog. 15 (?) *Köhler*, i. 8. *Trés. de Num.* pl lxxiii. fig. 7.

- 8.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Head of Apollo to the right.

Rev.—Horse, free, to the left. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ. A. A., iii. 7.

- 9.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Helmeted head, to the left, with javelin.

Rev.—Dioscuri. B. M. E. *Köhler.* *Mionnet*, viii. 470.

- 10.—□ Copper. Small coin.

Obv.—Bare head of king to the right. Legend, B. M. E.

Rev.—Caps, etc., of Dioscuri. Legend, *Maharajasa Eukratidasa.* Pl. xxxii. 11. A. A., iii. 12. *Trés. de Num.* lxxiii. 13.

- 11.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Helmeted head and legend as in No. 6.

Rev.—Dioscuri. Legend in Arian, *Maharajasa Eukratidasa.* Pl. xiii. 8—10. *Monogs.* 36^a, 37^a, 32, 25, 37^b, 29, with E in the field, 40, 23^b.

- 12.—○ Copper. Of similar devices and legends. Pl. xiii. 7, and A. A., iii. 8, monog. 44.

13.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Helmeted head to the right, and B. M. E.

Rev.—Seated figure to the left, with a small elephant's at the side (as in Antialkides' coins). Legend indistinct.

A. A., iii. 11.

14.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Helmeted head of king to the left, with javelin. B.M.E.

Rev.—A winged figure of Victory to the right, with chaplet and palm-branch. Legend defective.

A. A., xxi. 5, monog. 24^a.

15.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Helmeted head of king to the right. B. M. E.

Rev.—Victory to the left, extending a wreath and fillet. Legend defective except in the name.

A. A., xxi. 6, monog. 35^a.

I recapitulate the monograms, already quoted, on the coins of Eueratides, and add a list of the numerous symbols occurring on his various mintages.

Monograms quoted above:—Nos. 7, 12^a, 15, 17^a, 19^a, 23^b, 24, 24^a, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 29^b, 30, 31, 32, 34, 36, 36^a, 37^a, 40, and 76.

Additional, derived from other coins:—Nos. 3 (?), 6^a, 7, 9, 15, 19^a, 23^a, ^b, 24^b, 24^b with E, 26^a, 27 to 45 inclusive, together with the second examples of each monogram classed under those numbers marked ^a, and No. 29 associated with the letter E on the field of the piece.

IX. ANTIMACHUS ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΣ.

1.—Hemidrachma.

Obv.—Winged figure of Victory, to the left, with palm branch in her right, and fillet in her left hand.
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ.

Rev.—King on horseback, to the right. *Māhārājasa jayā-dharāsa Antimākhasa*. Pl. xv. 3. *A. A.*, ii. 16.

Prof. Wilson was under the impression that all these coins bore the same monog. Nos. 29^a (*A. A.*, 274); they are now found to embrace the symbols classed under the following numbers, 26, 29, 77, and 77^a.

2.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Demeter, to the front; cornucopia on her left arm.
Legend imperfect.

Rev.—Winged figure of Victory, to the left. *Maharajasa*
- - - *Antimakhasa.* Pl. xv. *A. A.*, ii. 16.

3.—□ Copper.

Obv.—The skin of an animal (?). ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ
ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ.

Rev.—Wreath and palm-branch. *Maharajasa* - - -
Antimakhasa. *A. A.*, xxi., fig. 11.

A silver cast of a genuine coin, in the possession of Mr. Bayley, definitely determines the attribution of this piece, and contributes the full counterpart names as inserted above. It bears the monog. No. 26. See also Cunningham, *J.A.S.B.*, April, 1840, p. 392.

X. PHILOXENES.

1.—Didrachma.

Obv.—Helmeted head of king, to the right. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ.

Rev.—Horseman, as in Antimachus Nikephorus' coins.
Maharajasa Apadilatasa Pilaxinasa.

Pl. xv. 1. *A. A.*, ii. 17. Monog., No. 74.

*.—□ Hemidr., of similar devices. Monog., No. 83, with Σ.
Mr. Bayley.

†.—□ Obolus (?). Types and legends as above. The Arian
name is written, *Phalasinasa.* Monog., No. 84.
Captain Robinson.

Mr. Frere has a silver cast of an apparently authentic didrachma, which supplies us with a variety of this obverse type. The king's head is here uncovered. On the reverse, traces of the monog. 29^a, are visible. The Arian transcript of the name commences with the letter *Phi*.

2.—□ Hemidrachma.

Obv.—Bare head of king with fillet, to the right. Legend as above.

Rev.—Device and legend as in No. 1.

Monog., No. 83, with Σ.

A. A., xxi. 13.

Col Abbot has two specimens of this type of coin, exhibiting the monograms, Nos. 74 and 6.

3.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Demeter, with the usual legend.

Rev.—Humped bull, with the usual legend.

Pl. iii., figs. 6, 7; pl. xv. 2. *A. A.*, ii. 18.

Monogs., Nos. 83, 83 with Σ on reverse, 83^a, 85, 86.

4.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Crowned figure, with a long spear. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ.

Rev.—A figure of Victory.

Capt. Hay.

X^a. ARTEMIDORUS.

1.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Erect figure, with the right arm upraised. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΥ.

Rev.—Bull, as in Philoxenes' copper coins. (M)*dhārājasa*
Apadikhāta(sa A)ti(vidarasa). *Mfr. Bayley.*

These legends have been completed from a more perfect coin deciphered by Major Cunningham.

I conclude that this Artemidorus is the monarch styled Artemon in Major Cunningham's list already cited; but if so, the style and fabric of his coinage must very materially alter his assumed date and position in the general list.

XI. Nicias.

Major Cunningham has published a notice of a coin, which he attributes to a king of this name (*Journal of the*

Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. xi., p. 136). It may be described thus :—

1.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Head of king, to the right. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΝΙΚΙΟΥ.

Rev.—Horseman, as in No. 1, Philoxenes. Legend, *Māhā-rajasa Tradatasa - - kīsa*.

XII. APPOLLODOTUS.

1. Hemidrachma.

Obv.—Head of king. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ.

Rev.—Thessalian Minerva to the left. Legend, *Māhārajasa Tradatasa Apaladatasa*.

Monog., No. 46, ΜΑΡΤΙΑΝΑ (?).

Pl. iii. 4; also pl. xiv. 4, and *A. A.*, iv. 13.

2.—□ Hemidrachma.

Obv.—Elephant. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ.

Rev.—Humped bull. Legend as in No. 1. Pl. xiv. 5, *A. A.*

3.—○ Hemidrachma. Types and legends as No. 2. *A. A.*, iv. 15.

4.—□ Copper. Small coin.

Obv.—Figure of Apollo, with bow and arrow, to the right. Legend as in No. 1.

Rev.—Tripod. Legend ditto. *Monog.*, No. 47.

Captain Robinson.

5.—○ Copper. Large coin.

Obv.—Apollo, with arrow, to the right. Legend as in No. 2.

Rev.—Tripod. Legend as in No. 2. Pl. xiv. 6.

6.—□ Copper. Similar devices and legends.

7.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Apollo to the front, with the bow in the left and the arrow in the right hand. Legend as usual.

Rev.—Tripod. Legend as usual. Pl. xiv. 7, 8; also *Vari-ant's A. A.*, iv., figs. 17, 18, 19.

8.—□ Copper. Middle size.

Obv.—"Figure of Apollo standing to the left, clothed in the anaxyris, with chlamys behind, a quiver at his back; an arrow in his right hand, his left resting on his bow: inclosed in a frame of oblong globules, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑ..... ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ."

Rev.—"Tripod; in the field, a symbol which seems to be a military ensign. Arianian inscription imperfect."

A. A., 291, quoting *Jour. des Sav.*, Dec. 1838, p. 752.

9.—□ Copper (middle size), indifferent execution.

Obv.—Apollo (?) seated, to the right, a bow in left hand. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΟΔΟΤΟΥ.

Rev.—Tripod, within a frame. Legend imperfect, * * paladana (?) Monog., No. 75. *Mr. E. C. Bayley.*

The additional monograms on the coins of Apollodotus are the following:—

On the Philopater coins, Nos. 1, 47 and 47^a, 48, 49. On the other varieties of his mintages, Nos. 46, 47^a, 50 to 72 inclusive.

Nos. 58 to 66, represent the combinations of monograms occurring on the obverse and reverse of the same coin; and Nos. 69 to 72, exhibit the joint Arian letters found on the reverse of the larger copper pieces.

XIII. ZOILUS.

1.—Hemidrachma.

Obv.—Head of king, to the right, with fillet. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΖΩΙΛΟΥ.

Rev.—Hercules, as in Demetrius' coins, but the right hand holding the chaplet is not upraised. Legend, *Māhārājasa Dhamikasa Jōhilasa.*

Monog., No. 24^b.

Lady Headfort, No. 29. *Capt. Robinson*, No. 77.

Col. Abbott, No. 78. *Mr. Bayley*, No. 79.

2.—Hemidrachma.¹⁰

Obv. as No. 1. Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΞΩΙΑΟΥ.

Rev.—Thessalian Minerva. Legend, *Maharajasa Tradatasa Jōhilasa.* Monog., No. 51.

Col. Abbott. *Mr. Bayley*, No. 80.

3.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Head of king(?), to the right.

Rev.—Club, with bow in its case, surrounded by a chaplet. Legend, as in No. 1.

Monog., No. 79.

Lady Headfort.

4.—○ Copper. Similar types to the Apollodotus coin, No. 5, with the addition of a small elephant at the back of the figure, in the field of the obverse. Legends as in No. 2.

5.—○ Copper (small coin).

Obv.—Elephant, to the right.

Rev.—Tripod. Monog. *dhi.*

XIV. DIOMEDES.

1.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Dioscuri standing, to the front. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΜΗΔΕΟΥ.

Rev.—*Māhārajasa Tradatasa Diyamedasa.*

Monog., No. 29. Pl. xxviii. 3. Same coin, *A. A.*, v. 1.

Three coins of this type in the B.M., and one in the possession of Mr. Bayley, all have monogs. No. 29; one example adds the letter Σ.

XV. DIONYSIUS.

1.—Hemidrachma (of inferior execution, similar in its aspect to the Philopator coins of Apollodotus).

Obv.—Head with fillet, to the right. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ.

Rev.—Thessalian Minerva. Legend, *Māhārajasa Tradatasa Dianisiyasa.*

Monog. (as in Apollodotus' coins), No. 51. *Col. Abbott.*

¹⁰ These coins have a great similitude, in their die execution, to the small Philopator coins of Apollodotus.

A second specimen gives the Σ in the name more after the form of a real *sigma*. The outline of the Ni , in the Arian legend, is also modified in the duplicate coin. Monog. No. 51.

2.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Apollo, to the right, as in Apollodotus' coins.
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ.

Rev.—Tripod. Legend imperfect.

Monogs., consisting of Arian letters, *Sh* and *A*, No. 81.

B. M.

XVI. LYSIAS.

1.—Hemidrachma.

Obv.—Head of king, with helmet in the shape of an elephant's head—similar to the Demetrius' type. Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΛΥΣΙΟΥ.

Rev.—Hercules standing, to the front, as in the Demetrius' prototype. Legend, *Maharajasa Apadikhtasa Lysikasa*. Plate xliii. 4. *A. A.*, ii. 9. Monog. 87. *A. A.*, 31.

Colonel Abbott has two of these coins with the several monogs. included under No. 88.

Pl. xiv. 9, 11, 12; pl. xxviii. 1. Monog. No. 7.

2.—Hemidrachma.

Obv.—Head of the king, with the ordinary style of Menander helmet. Legend as above.

Rev.—Hercules, as above.

The legend varies in the Arian definition of the name, which at times exhibits the vowel *a*, and at others the letter *k*, as the penultimate. The five specimens of this mintage that I have had an opportunity of examining, all have the monog. No. 87.

3.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Bare head of king, to the right. Legend as in No. 1.

Rev.—Elephant, as in Heliocles' coins. Legend as above, the name being usually spelt with a *k*.

Pl. xiv. 12. *A. A.*, ii. 10. *Num. Jour.* vii., pl. ii., 22.
 Monogs. Nos. 88, 7, and 74^a.

4.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Bare head of king, to the right. Legend as above.

Rev.—Caps and palm-branches of the Dioscuri. Legend,
Máhdarajasa Jayadharasa Antálíkídasa.

Capt. Hay.

XVII. ANTIALKIDES.

1.—Tetradrachma.

Obv.—Bare head of king. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ
ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ.

Rev.—Jove enthroned, with a small figure of Victory in his right hand; elephant in front, etc. Legend, *Máhdarajasa Jayadharasa Antálíkídasa.*

Monog., No. 87.

Col. Abbott.

*)—Hemidrachma. Similar types and legends. *A.A.*, ii. 12.
Monogs., No. 7 and 87.

2.—Hemidrachma.

Obv.—Head of king, with Causia. Legend as above.

Rev. as in No. 1. *A.A.*, ii. 11.

Monogs., Nos. 7, 74*, 87.

3.—Hemidrachma.

Obv.—Head, with the ordinary crested helmet. Legend and reverse device as usual. *A.A.*, No. 3, p. 277.

4.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Head.

Rev.—Caps and palms of Dioscuri. Legends as usual.

A.A., No. 6, p. 279.

5.—□ Copper. Similar devices and legends. *Pl. xiv.*, 9, 10, 11.

These two classes of coins vary occasionally in the subordinate typical details,¹¹ and the Arian definition of the name is irregular in the general series, in the interchange of the dental and cerebral *d*, as the penultimate consonant. Other monograms, Nos. 29*, 88*, 85*.

¹¹ *Ex Gr. Num. Chron.* vii., pl. ii., fig. 21.

XVIII. AMYNTAS.

- 1.—Didrachma. Much damaged. (Weight, 128 grs.)

Obv.—Helmeted head, to the right. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΑ-
ΤΟΡΟΣ ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ.

Rev.—Thessalian Minerva, to the left. Legend, *Maharajasa*
Jayadharasa Amitasa. B.M. monog., No. 75.*

- 2.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Head of king, to the right. Legend as above.

Rev.—Minerva armed, to the left. Legend as in No. 1.

Monog., No. 104.

Pl. xxxii. 1. A.A., ii. 14.

XIX. ARCHEBIUS.

- 1.—Tetradrachma.

Obv.—Bare head. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ
ΑΡΧΕΒΙΟΥ.

Rev.—Jupiter standing to the front, with spear and thunder-
bolt. Legend, *Maharajasa Dhamikasa Jayadharasa*
A'khaliyasa.

Monog., No. 106.

Col. Abbott.¹²

- *)—Hemidrachma. Similar types and legends. Pl. xxviii. 1.
A.A., ii. 8. Monog., No. 7.

- 2.—Tetradrachma.

Obv.—Helmeted head.

Rev. as No. 1. Monog., No. 75*.

Col. Abbott.

¹² I regret to say that my notes on the typical details of Col. Abbott's coins are very imperfect. I was somewhat pressed for time on the only opportunity I had of inspecting his rich and varied collection, and at the moment entertained no design of publishing the result of my scrutiny; hence my memoranda, I find, refer to doubtful and difficult readings, special coincidences of design, and monogrammatic data, rather than to the *dis* specifications ordinarily demanded by exact numismatists. My notes of interrogation will indicate what I supply from memory.

3.—Hemidrachma.

Obv.—Bust of the king with bare head, to the left, a javelin in the right hand, as in one of the common classes of Menander's coins (No. 4). Legend as above.

Rev.—Jove (Neptune?) as above, with similar legend.

Monog., No. 7 with 105.

A. A., xxi. 10.

4.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Victory, to the right, extending a fillet. Legend as usual.

Rev.—An owl. Monog. 106.

R. Rochette, Jour. des Sav., Feb. 1839. *A. A.*, p. 280.

5.—□ Copper. Similar devices and legends. *B. M. monogs.*, No. 106 and 106^a.

XX. MENANDER.

1.—Didrachma.

Obv.—Head of king, to the right. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

Rev.—Thessalian Minerva, to the left. *Maharajasa Tridatasa Menadrasa.*

Monog., 2, and 24^b.

A. A., iii. 13.

*)—Hemidrachma. Same types. Pl. iii. 5; and *A. A.*, iii. 14.

2.—Hemidrachma.

Obv.—Head of king with helmet, to the right.

Rev.—Minerva. Similar legends to the above.

A. A., iii. 15.

3.—Hemidrachma.

Obv.—Head of king with helmet and javelin.

Rev.—Minerva.

A. A., iv. 2

4.—Hemidrachma.

Obv.—Bare head of king, to the left; the right hand grasps a javelin.

Rev. as usual.

*)—Hemidrachma. Similar devices, with the legends differently arranged. Pl. xiv. 1.

5.—Hemidrachma.

Obv.—Helmeted head, as in No. 2.*Rev.*—An owl. Legends as in No. 4^a.

6.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Bare head, to the right.*Rev.*—A dolphin.Pl. xxxii. 8. *A. A.*, iv. 3.

7.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Bare head, to the left, with javelin, as in No. 4.*Rev.*—Minerva, to the right. Legends as usual.*A. A.*, iv. 7.

8.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Helmeted head.*Rev.*—Winged figure of Victory, to the right, with palm-branch and wreath.

Pl. xiv. 3.

^a)—□ Copper.*Rev.*—Victory, to the left.

There are other subordinate varieties of these coins, see
A. A., p. 285.

9.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Helmeted head, to the right.*Rev.*—Owl.Pl. xxxii. 6; *A. A.*, iv. 8.

10.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Helmeted head, to the right.*Rev.*—Shield of Minerva.Pl. xxxii. 5. *A. A.*, iv. 12.

11.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Boar's head.*Rev.*—Palm-branch.Pl. xxxii. 9. *A. A.*, iv. 9.

12.—□

Obv.—Elephant's head.*Rev.*—Club of Hercules.Pl. xiv. 2. *A. A.*, iv. 10.

13.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Wheel.*Rev.*—Club.Pl. xxxii. 7. *A. A.*, iv. 11.

14.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Figure, to the front; helmet and lance. Legend,
B - - ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

Rev.—Panther. *Quoted by Wilson, A. A., p. 287, from
R. Rochette, Jour. des Sav., Dec. 1838, p. 751.*

15.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Elephant, to the left. Legend imperfect, but exhibiting traces of the name of Menander. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ
ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

Rev.—An ankus (or elephant-goat). Legend, imperfect,
[Μάκαρα]βασ Τράδα[τσα] - - -

Monog., No. 89.

E. C. Bayley.

Full List of Monograms:—Nos. 7, 24^b, 26, 26 with A, 26^a with A, 29, 29^a with H, ditto with B, 55, 56^a, 74^a, 77, 77 with A, 77^a, 77 and 77^a, each repeated on the several specimens on the obverse and reverse; 79, 87, 87 with Σ, Ε, and Γ, on the several examples; 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 94^a, 95, 96, 97, 97^a.

XXI. STRATO.

1.—Hemidrachma.

Obv.—Head in profile, to the right. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΕΠΙ-
ΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.

Rev.—Minerva Promachos (as in Menander coins. Legend,
*Mákhara*βασ *Pratichasa* (P) *Tradatasa* *Stratasa*.

Two specimens. *B. M. Monog., No. 7.*

2.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Apollo, as in Apollodotus' coin, No. 7. Legend as
in No. 1.

Rev.—Tripod. Legend as in No. 1.

E. I. H., monog., No. 7.

3.—□ Copper.

Obv.—King's bust, with club resting on his right shoulder.
Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.

Rev.—Victory. Legend, *Mákhara*βασ *Trakatasa* *Stratasa*.

Monog., No. 99.

Mr. Bayley.

4.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Type as in No. 3. Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ
ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.

Rev.—Type as in No. 3. Legend, *Maharajasa Tradatasa*
Dhamikasa Stratasa.

Monog., No. 99. *B.M.* Other monogs., Nos. 74*, 99, 100.

See also the debased hemidrachmas of Strato noticed by Major Cunningham in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vii. of 1854, p. 691. Early publications of some of the above coins are also to be found in that author's papers in *J.A.S.B.*, vol. xi. 1840 and 1842.

XXI. AGATHOCLEIA.

(WIFE OF STRATO).

1.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Female head, helmeted. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑΣ ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΥ
ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ.

Rev.—Hercules with club, seated. *Maharajasa Tradatasa*
Dhamikasa Stratasa.

Monog., No. 100. *J.A.S.B.*, v., pl xxxii. 2. *A.A.*, vi. 10.
Mr. Bayley.

XXII. HIPPOSTRATUS.

1.—

Obv.—Bare head of king, to the right, with fillet. ΒΑ-
ΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΙΠΠΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ.

Rev.—Helmeted figure, right hand extended, the left sup-
ports a cornucopia (Demeter?). Legend, *Maharajasa*
Tradatasa Hipastratasa.

Monog., No. 103, with an Arian A on the other side of the
figure. *E.C.B.* and *B.M.*

2.—Tetradrachma.

Obv.—Bare head of king, to the right, with fillet. ΒΑ-
ΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΙΠΠΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ.

Rev.—Helmeted figure on horseback, to the right; horse in
motion. *Maharajasa Tradatasa Mahatasa Jayatasa*
Hipastratasa. Monog., No. 101.

Mr. Bayley. *B.M.*, No. 47^b. *Col. Abbott*, 47.

3.—Tetradrachma.

Obv.—Device and legend as in No. 1.

Rev.—Horseman, motionless. Legend as in No. 2.

Monog., No. 101, with the several adjuncts of, copied under No. 102. *Mr. Bayley and B. M.*

4.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Apollo standing, to the right. Legend as in No. 1.

Rev.—A tripod. Legend as in No. 1.

Monogs. as in No. 1.

XXIII. TELEPHUS.

1.—Major Cunningham has made public the only known coin of this king. (*J.A.S.B.*, xi. 133.)

Obv.—"An ancient giant, full front, with snakey legs, which curl upwards on each side." ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΤΗΛΕΦΟΥ.

Rev.—"A draped male figure standing, to the left, his head crowned with rays, and holding in his right hand a spear; to the right, a clothed female figure, with a crescent on her head. Legend, *Maharajasa* - - - *kranasa Taliphasa*. Monog., No. 98.

XXIV. HERMÆUS.

1.—Didrachma.

Obv.—Head of king, to the right. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ.

Rev.—Jove enthroned, right hand extended. *Maharajasa Tradatasa Hermayasa*.

Monog., *E.I.H.*, No. 110. Pl. xviii. 1. *A.A.*, v. 3.

*)—Hemidrachma. Similar types. Monog., No. 83 of *Wilson's list*. *A.A.*, v. 3.

2.—Hemidrachma. HERMÆUS AND CALLIOPE.

Obv.—Male and female heads, to the right. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΟΠΕΣ.

Rev.—Horseman, as in Antimachus' coins. *Maharajasa Tradatasa Hermayasa*; and at the foot of the reverse, *Kaliyapaya*.

A.A., xxi. 14, *Capt. Robinson*, *Mr. Bayley*, etc., all apparently have the same monog., No. 107.

- 3.—○ Copper, identical in type and devices with No. 1.
xviii. 2, 3, 4. *A. A.*, v. 4, 5, 6. Monogs., No. 108, with
the several Bactrian letters classed under No. 109.

- 4.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Head of king, with curiously arranged head-dress.
Legend, B. E. E.

Rev.—Horse standing, to the right. Legend as usual.

Pl. xxviii. 11. *A. A.*, v. 7, and xxi. 15.

Monog., No. 3* and 29.

General List of Monogs.:—3*, 23*, 29, 41*, 44, 48, 107,
107*, with Arian letters, *k, s*; 108, with elongated downstroke
of R. associated with the Bactrian letters, *trá, v, dh, sh*, and *n (?)*;
108 to 112, 113 to 118.

XXIV*. SU-HERMÆUS.

- 1.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Head of king, to the right. Legend, imperfect,
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΤΗΡΟΞ ΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ.

Rev.—Hercules standing, with his club resting on the ground.
Legend, *Dhama Phidasa Kujula Kasasa Kushanyatu-*
gasa. Pl. xviii. 9; xxviii. 10. *A. A.*, v. 8, 9, etc.

XXV. MAUAS.

- 1.—Didrachma. (Weight, 151·4 grs.)

Obv.—Male figure, to the front; right arm extended, the
left supports a spear. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ
ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΜΑΥΟΥ.

Rev.—Victory, with a chaplet, to the right. *Rajadīrajasa*
Mahatasa Maūsa.

Monog., No. 47*. *B.M.*, *Capt. Robinson*, No. 47.
Lady Sale's coin (weight, 143 grs.), monog. No. 106.

- *)—Hemidrachma. Similar types. *Capt. Robinson*, monog. 47.

- 2.—Didrachma.

Obv.—A biga, with horses at speed. The driver wears a
helmet; the chief figure rests upon a spear, a nim-
bus surrounds the head. Legend as in No. 1.

Rev.—Jove enthroned, as in Hermæus' coins, with triple-
pointed spear (trident?). Legend as in No. 1.

Monog., No. 98*. *Capt. Robinson.*

3.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Elephant's head.

Rev.—Caduceus. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΑΥΟΥ.

Monog., No. 106. *B. M.* Pl. xiii. 4. *A. A.*, viii. 11.

4.—□ Copper (small coin).

Obv.—Apollo, to the front, as in Apollodotus' coins; arrow in the right, and bow in the left hand. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΑΥΟΥ.

Rev.—Tripod. Legend, *Makarajasa Madasa.* *B. M.*

5.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Female figure, to the front, with spear and crescent above the head. Two six-pointed stars or constellations appear in the upper part of the field, one on each side of the figure. Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΜΑΥΟΥ.

Rev.—Victory with chaplet, to the left. Legend, *Rajadira-rajasa Mahatasa Madasa.*

Monog., No. 120.

6.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Jove enthroned, with small figure at the side.

Rev.—Female figure, as on the obverse of No. 5.

Monog., No. 120. *A. A.*, p. 815.

7.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Figure clothed in skins, with nimbus.

Rev.—Indian bull, to the left.

Monog., No. 106.

B. M. *Mr. Bayley and Capt. Robinson*, monog., No. 49.

8.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Male figure, with club and trident, flowing robes, &c.
Monog., No. 121.

Rev.—Victory, with loose garments (similar to the figure on the obverse), and a varied style of chaplet.

Pl. xliii., fig. 11. *A. A.*, viii. 10.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

DESCRIPTION GÉNÉRALE DES MONNAIES DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE ROMAINE,
COMMUNÉMENT APPELÉES MÉDAILLES CONSULAIRES PAR H. COHEN.
Paris, 4^o. 1857.

It is now some time since the numismatic public have been made aware, that M. Cohen, long known as a most learned and able collector of Roman silver coins, was engaged on a work that would illustrate the chief riches of his own cabinet, and, at the same time, would throw considerable light on a class of coins too little studied: those referring to the earlier part of the history of Rome, antecedent to the establishment of the empire.

We rejoice to find, that the expectations so long entertained have not been disappointed, and that M. Cohen has been able, with the aid of his accomplished publisher, M. Rollin, and with the careful drawings of M. Dardel, whom he characterises as "*le plus habile artiste de Paris en ce genre*," to produce a volume which completely surpasses and throws into the shade all that has been hitherto done on this subject. We rejoice at this the more, from our own personal knowledge that the learned author of the work we are now noticing, may himself be regarded justly as one of the most zealous and indefatigable numismatists in Europe, and, therefore, peculiarly well fitted to give a practical illustration of the interesting and, in many respects, difficult class of coins to which he has paid attention in the volume before us. The coins of which M. Cohen has given a description, are of that class which has always found more favour on the Continent than with English collectors. Ever since the revival of learning, no class of coins, with the exception of the Roman large brass, had so constantly occupied the attention of learned men in Italy. Nor is this unnatural; the native money of the people who so long ruled over the fairest provinces of Italy, we should expect, that when the learning of mankind was again turned into channels which had been so long closed up and neglected, these ancient types would be considered with more than usual interest. We rejoice, therefore, that in M. Cohen's new work he has boldly given these coins their true designation, and has termed them

what they really are, the coins of the Romans during the time of the Republic. Nor is this the only thing we think deserving praise in its arrangement: for M. Cohen has, wisely, in the assortment of his plates, separated the gold and the silver from the copper, an arrangement which greatly conduces to clearness, and which might be advantageously followed by any future writers or publishers of coins. M. Cohen has rendered his work much more valuable, and, at the same time, very interesting to read, by some excellent notes he has attached to each of the families he has described, and which he has modestly intitled "éclaircissements." Some of these throw much light on the history of the times to which they refer, and are valuable additions to the slight information we previously possessed on these subjects. The book is enriched by no less than seventy-five plates, executed with great care, under the experienced eye of the author, by M. Dardel, whose skill is well shown in the clearness with which he has rendered to the eye some of the smallest and most complex of this "Consular Money." With all these points in its favour, we have great pleasure in recommending to the notice of our numismatic friends the work of M. Cohen, which we consider to be one of the most valuable monographs which has been published for many years.

ENGRAVINGS OF UNEDITED OR RARE GREEK COINS, WITH DESCRIPTIONS. BY LIEUT.-GENERAL C. R. FOX. *Bell and Daldy, 1856.*

We hail with great pleasure the publication of this monograph, and trust that its appearance may induce others, who, like General Fox, are in the possession of rare and practically unknown coins, to follow the excellent example he has set them. We say this advisedly: even if there were more errors than may be detected in this little volume, we should still hold that the example it offers to others is worthy of all encouragement. We are glad, therefore, to see the first portion of the General's work, and sincerely trust that health and opportunity may be afforded him, to give us another and similar *fasciculus*. The present portion comprehends a description of 114 selected coins, beginning with Massalia in France, and extending to the Island of Siphnos: among them will be found many coins of great interest and rarity, and some which have been hardly known before. The monograph is rendered much more valuable by the plates which the General has had the trouble to have engraven of all the specimens he has here selected for description: they have been executed by M. Dardel, a gentleman well known on the continent for his skill in such matters, and are superior to any that have, of late years, at least, been produced in England. It is hard to select

where all the engravings are well done; but we might, perhaps, notice among the most successful of M. Dardel's drawings, Nos. 5, 6, 7, 17, 30, 32, 43, 44, 57, 63, 64, 96, 110. These could not have been better, or more accurately executed. With these plates in his hand, the student has no necessity to refer to the coins themselves.

In speaking thus warmly of General Fox's work, we must not be supposed to be ignorant of some errors that have crept into it, and which we hope will not be seen in any subsequent portion that he may publish. Thus, occasionally, we notice, in the descriptive text, that the Greek legends on the coins, or portions of them, have been omitted, as in Nos. 33, 34, 62, 63; while in other cases, as Nos. 35, 46, 49, 52, the wrong metal has been annexed.

CATALOGUE OF BACTRIAN COINS.

(Continued from page 45.)

9.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Elephant.*Rev.*—Seated figure. Monog., No. 122.*Mr. Frere*, pl. xv., fig. 11. *Jour. des Sav.*, 1839.

10.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Male figure, to the left (indistinct).*Rev.*—Lion, to right.

Pl. xv. 7.

11.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Neptune, with trident, treading upon a prostrate figure.*Rev.*—Figure surrounded with branches.

Monog., No. 120.

Colonel Nuthall. *A.A.*, p. 314.

12.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Neptune, with the right foot placed on a prostrate figure as in No. 11; the left hand rests on a trident, while the right is raised in the act of hurling the thunderbolt.*Rev.* as in No. 11. Monog. illegible.*Lady Elliot*.

13.—□ Copper.

Obv. as No. 12, except that Neptune holds a palm-branch in the left hand in lieu of a trident.*Rev.* as No. 12. Monog., a modification of No. 47.*Mr. Bayley*.

14.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Horseman, with a fold of his dress flying loose behind him. (Monog. illegible.)*Rev.*—Helmeted figure, in loose garments, moving to the right, holding a garland in the right and a spear in the left hand. Monog., mi.*Mr. Bayley*.

15.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Horseman, with spear.*Rev.*—Winged Victory, to the left, holding a chaplet in the right hand. Monog., No. 47. *Mr. Bayley.*

16.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Standing male figure, to the front; right arm up-lifted, in the left a club. Monog., No. 127^a, with P instead of Y in the upper limb, and Arian ti.*Rev.*—Indian bull, to the right. Monog. No. 108^a.
Mr. Bayley.

A second coin, in the possession of Mr. H. Brereton, gives the name clearly as *ΜΑΥΟΥ*.

17.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Elephant.*Rev.*—Indian bull. *Capt. Hay.*

XXVI. KADPHISES.

1.—Copper.

Obv.—Head as in the Su-Hermæus' coins. Legend, ΚΟΡΕΙΛΛΟ ΚΟΖΟΥΑΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΖΟΥ.*Rev.*—Hercules as above. Legend, *Dhama Phidasa Kujula Kasasa Kushanyatugasa.*Pl. xxviii. 12. *A. A.*, xi. 10, 11.XXVI^a. KOZOLA KADAPHES.

1.—○ Copper small coin.

Obv.—Youthful head. Legend, ΚΟΖΟΛΑ ΚΑΔΑΦΕΕ ΧΟΡΑΝ ΚΥ ΖΑΘΟΥ.*Rev.*—A Scythic figure. Legend, *Khashanasa Yavasa Kuyula Kaphasasa Suchha dhani phidasa.*

Monog., No. 119. Pl. xviii. 13, 14, 15; xxviii. 13, 14.

A. A., xi. 14.XXVI^b. KODES.

1.—Hemidrachma.

Obv.—Barbarous head of king. ΚΩΔΟΥ.*Rev.*—Erect figure, with flames issuing from his shoulders; the right hand rests upon a spear. ΠΑΙΟΠΟΥ ΜΑΚΑΡ. Pl. xiii. 11, 12, 13. *A. A.*, ix. 1, 2, 3, 5.

2.—Hemidrachma.

Obv.—Head as above.*Rev.*—Horse's head. *KwΔ.*Pl. xxxii. 16, 17, 18. *A. A.*, ix. 4, 6, 7.

XXVII. VONONES (AND AZAS).

CLASS A.

I understand that Major Cunningham has discovered coins with the above combination of names. The specimens are engraved in his unpublished plates, but I do not consider myself authorised to quote them in any detail beyond this notice of the interesting historical fact they suffice to substantiate.

VONONES (AND SPALAHARES).

CLASS B.

1.—Didrachma.

Obv.—Azas' horseman with spear, at the charge, to the right. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΝΩΝΟΥ,
oNΩNoY,

Rev.—Jupiter, with spear and bolts. *Maharaja Bhṛata Dhamikṛsa Spalahārasa.*

Monog., No. 131.

Capt. Robinson.

*)—Hemidrachma. Similar types and legends. Pl. xv. 5.

A. A., viii. 8. Monog. 130, 131.

2.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Hercules, with club and lion's skin, and right hand raised to the head. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΝΩΝΟΥ.

Rev.—Minerva, to the left, armed with shield and spear. *Māhārāja Bhṛata Dhamikṛsa Spalahārasa.*

Monog., No. 130.

Pl. xv. 10. *A. A.*, viii. 9.

VONONES (AND SPALAGADAMES, SON OF SPALAHARES).

CLASS C.

1.—Hemidrachma.

Obv.—Azas' horseman, with spear. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΝΩΝΟΥ.

Rev.—Jupiter, with spear and bolts. *Spalahāra Putrasa Dhamikṛsa Spalagadāmasa.*

Monog., *B. M.* coin, 132. *Col. Sykes*, 133.

SPALIRISES AND AZAS.

CLASS D.

1.—Didrachma.

Obv.—Azas' horseman. BACIAEΩC MEΓAΛOY ΠHAAIPICOY.

Rev.—Jove, as above. *Máhárajasa Mahátakasa Ayasa.*
Mr. Frere, monog. 134.

2.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Azas, horseman. B. M. ΠHAAIPICOY.

Rev.—A bow and arrow. *Máhárajasa Ma'átakasa Ayasa.*
Mr. Bayley, monog. 133 a.

CLASS C a.

XXVIII. SPALAGADAMES, or SPALYRIAS (alone),

THE BROTHER OF THE KING.

1.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Azas' horseman. CHAAΥΠIOY ΔIKAIOY AΔEΛΦOY TOY BACIAEΩC.

Rev.—Hercules, seated on a rock. *Spalahára putrása Dhamikasa Spalagadamasa.*

Pl. xv. 9; xxviii. 6, and xlii. 3. *A. A.*, viii. 13.

Monogs., the second figure in Nos. 113, 132, 136.

CLASS D a.

XXIX. SPALIRISES (alone).

1.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Female figure, to the left. BACIAEΩN BACIAEΩC MEΓAΛOY ΠHAAIPICOY.

Rev.—Jove, enthroned. *Máhárajasa Mahátakasa Spalirisa.* Pl. xv. 6; xxviii. 7. *A. A.*, viii. 12. *B. M.*, etc.

Monogs., Nos. 135, 135 a, and 135 b.

XXX. AZAS.

1.—Didrachma.

Obv.—The standard Azas' type of horseman, to the right; the spear point slightly depressed. BACIAEΩC BACIAEΩN MEΓAΛOY AZOY.

Rev.—Female figure, with palm-branch in the left, and a four-pointed object (like some of the Scythian monograms) in the right hand. *Mahdrajasa Rajarajasa Mahatasa Ayasa.*

Monog., *Capt. Robinson*, 125, with Arian letters, *mi*.
A. A., vi. 12.

*)—Hemidrachmas.

B.M. monog., No. 123, with Arian letters *bh* and *dh*.

Capt. Robinson, 173, with the letters *san*.

Do. do. 47, with *B* and an Arian *T*.

Do. do. 47, with *A* and an Arian *T*.

Do. do. 47, with an Arian *T* alone.

Do. do. 124, with an Arian *si*.

Capt. Robinson, with *dh* and *mi*. *A. A.*, vi. 18.

2.—Didrachma.

Obv.—Horseman, as above.

Rev.—Minerva Promachos, to the left.

B.M. monog., 103, with an Arian *A*. *Capt. Robinson*, ditto.

A second has monog. 103 with No. 125.

*)—Hemidrachma. *B.M.* monog., 103, with *A*.

Capt. Robinson, monog. 103 with 125.

3.—Didrachma.

Obv.—Horseman, as above.

Rev.—Jupiter, with spear and bolts.

Capt. Robinson, monog. 126, with *bh*. *B.M.*, 126, with *dh*.

4.—Variety of No. 3. Didrachma.

Obv.—Horseman, as above, with the letters *Pri* below the horse.

Rev.—Jove, with the spear or sceptre, triple-pointed, the points diverging from one centre.

Monog., No. 103, with *A*.

5.—Didrachma

Obv. as above. Monog., *li*.

Rev.—Jove, with triple-pointed sceptre; but the right hand is elevated in the act of throwing the thunderbolt.

Monog., No. 103*, with *A*. *Capt. Robinson*.

a).—Hemidrachma. Monog., No. 103^a, with Arian A. *B. M.*,
Capt. Robinson, etc.

b).—Hemidrachma. Variant.

Obv.—As above.

Rev.—Jupiter rayed, to the front, leaning on a spear. The bolts are held in the right hand, low down.

Monog., No. 129. *Capt. Robinson*.

6.—Didrachma.

Obv.—The Azas' horseman, to the right, without the spear; the right hand of the figure is extended above the horse's head. Monog., s.

Rev.—Minerva, to the right, helmeted and armed with buckler; right hand extended.

Captain Robinson, monog. 49, with A. *Lady Elliot*, double monog., 144. *Mr. Carne's collection*, group 141^a.

a).—Hemidrachma. *Mr. Bayley*, monog. 103, with A.

7.—Didrachma.

Obv.—Horseman, as above, with whip in the right hand.

Rev.—Standing figure, with spear, holding a small statue of Victory. Pl. xvii. 17(?). *A. A.*, vi. 15, 16(?), 17.

B. M. monog. 47 with 48, and Arian letters *T*, *bu*, *dh*, etc.; others, with *T*, omit No. 48.

a).—Hemidrachma. Monog., No. 137, with *San*; a second, No. 138, with *dh* and *s*. *Lady Elliot*.

8.—Didrachma.

Obv.—Horseman, as above. Monog., *ti*.

Rev.—Minerva, with spear, to the right; bare head, and right arm extended.

Monog., No. 103 with 123^a. Pl. xvii. 15. *A. A.*, vi. 13.

(8).—Variety. Billon.

Rev.—Similar figure, with triple-pointed spear. Monog., No. 149.

9.—Didrachma. Billon.

Obv.—As above.

Rev.—Neptune, with trident, to the front.

Monog., No. 127, with *si*. Pl. xvii. 16. *A. A.*, vi. 14.

10.—Hemidrachma.

Obv.—Horseman, as above.

Rev.—Minerva, armed with spear and shield, with the right arm upraised. Pl. xvii. 18. *A. A.*, vi. 19.

B. M. monog. 128, with *Ssh.* *Capt. Robinson* 128*, *sushi*; and 128* with 127*. Another: *Obv.* monog. *A.* *Rev.* 126*, with an indistinct symbol like 125.

11.—Drachma.

Obv.—King, standing, to the left; right hand extended, and sloped spear on his left shoulder.

Rev.—Winged figure of Victory, to the right, holding out a chaplet. Monog., No. 52.

10.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Neptune, treading on a prostrate figure. Legend as above.

Rev.—Female figure, surrounded by branches. Legend as above. Monog., No. 52. Pl. xvii. 14. *A. A.*, vii. 5.

11.—□ Copper.

Obv.—King, riding on a Bactrian camel.

Rev.—Thibetan yak (or long-haired bull). *A. A.*, vii. 6.

12.—□ Copper.

Obv.—King on horseback, with spear sloped.

Rev.—Bull.

Monog., No. 103, with *T*. Ditto with *A.* *Capt. Robinson*. Pl. xvi. 9. *A. A.*, vii. 12. Other monogs., No. 161, variants.

13.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Hercules, to the front, with chaplet upraised in his right hand, and club in the left, after the manner of the reverse devices of Demetrius. Monog., 131.

Rev.—Horse, free, to the right. Monog., *su*.

Pl. xv. 8. *A. A.*, vii. 7.

14.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Elephant, to the right.

Rev.—Indian bull, to the right. Pl. xvi. 4, 5. *A. A.*, vii. 10. Monogs., Nos. 150, 151, with variants.

15.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Humped bull, to the right.

Rev.—Indian lion, to the right. Legend, *Maharajasa Rajadirajasa Mahatasa Ayasa*. With combined monogs. from 142 to 149.

Pl. xvi., figs. 1, 2, 3. *A. A.*, vii. 8.

a).—Small coins. Similar types. *A. A.*, vii. 9.

b).—□ (?) *A. A.*, vii. 3. Monog. *A.* *Rev.* monog., *Pr.*

16.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Demeter, seated on a throne.

Rev.—Hermes, standing. Pl. xvi. 10. *A. A.*, vii. 12.

Most common monog., No. 147.

17.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Figure, seated cross-legged.

Rev.—Hermes, standing. Pl. xvi. 12. *A. A.*, vii. 13, 14.

Monogs., Nos. 153 to 160.

a).—Small coins, ditto. *A. A.*, vii. 15.

18.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Female figure, standing, to the left.

Rev.—Humped bull, to the right.

Mr. Bayley, monogs. indistinct.

19.—○ Copper.

Obv.—A lion, sejant. Legend, blundered and unintelligible.

Rev.—Rude figure of Demeter, seated. Legend, *Māhāra-
jasa - - - Ayasa*. Monog., No. 47, with *ti*.

Mr. Bayley.

20.—○ Copper. Minute coin. Types similar to No. 7.

Monog., *Obv.* No. 169, and *var.* *Rev.* No. 47, and *Sau*.

Mr. Bayley.

21.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Horseman, with right hand raised. Monog., 119^a.

Rev.—Demeter, standing, to the front; right arm extended, the left supports the cornucopia. Legend, *Māhā-
rajasa Mahatasa Dhamikasa Rajadirajasa Ayasa*.

Pl. xvii. 22. Monogs., No. 177, 177^a, 178, 178^a, and 178^b, with variants.

SUB-AZAS.

22.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Azas horseman, with right hand holding a whip.

Legend, B. B. M. AZOY. Monog., No. 139 (*Agaj?*)

Rev.—Minerva, helmeted, with spear and shield, to the right; the right hand supports a small figure of Victory. Legend,¹³ *Indra Varma Putrasa Aspavarmasa Strategasa Jayatasa* (Aspavarma, son of Indra Varma).

Monogs., No. 140, with 125, and the several Arian letters entered in the plate. *My Cabinet.*

XXXI. AZILISAS.

1.—Didrachma.

Obv.—Azas' horseman, with spear. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΙΑΙΛΟΥ. (Monog., *ti*. A. A. coin)

Rev.—Figure, to the left, holding the four-pointed object in the right, and palm-branch in the left hand. *Máharajasa Rajarajasa Mahatasa Ayilishasa*. Monogs., B. M., 123 with *San* and *Bh*; ditto, 124 with *Si*.

B. M. monog., 2 with *si* and *G*. *Capt. Robinson*, monog. 124 with *si* and *S*. A. A., viii. 5.

^a).—Hemidrachma. Similar types. B. M. monog., 125* with *I*. *Capt. Robinson*, monog. 2 with an Arian *II*.

2.—Didrachma.

Obv. as above, with Arian letter *S* in the field.

Rev.—Female figure, to the left, with chaplet and palm-branch. Monog., No. 75. A. A., viii. 6.

3.—Didrachma. (145 grs.)

Obv.—Azas' horseman, to the right, with whip and the bow fixed behind the saddle. Monog., No. 137.

Rev.—Dioscuri, standing to the front, leaning on their spears. Legend, *Máharajasa Rajadirajasa Mahatasa Ayilishasa*. Monogs., *San* and *As*(?)

Mr. Bayley. *Col. Nuthall*, *Obv.* monog., 137 with *B*, and *Rev.* 171.

¹³ Cunningham, Jour. Asiatic Society of Bengal, vii. of 1854.

4.—Didrachma. (142 grs.)

Obv. as No. 3. Monog., 137^a.

Rev.—Single figure, clothed in skins, to the front; the right hand grasps a spear, the left rests upon the sword hilt. Monog., No. 170. *Mr. Bayley.*

5.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Standing figure, to the front (indistinct), with right arm extended, and mantle on the left. Monog., 74^b.

Rev.—Lion, as in Azas coins. Monog., No. 172. A second coin has *mi* (?) *Mr. Bayley. Capt. Robinson.*

6.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Azas horseman.

Rev.—Bull, to the left.

B. M. monog., 125 with *mi*, and traces of monog. 126.

*)—*Rev.*—Bull, to the right.

7.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Azas horseman.

Rev.—Elephant. *Maharajasa Mahatasa Ayilishasa.*

Monog., variety of No. 124, with *Si*. *A. A., viii. 7.*

8.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Horseman.

Rev.—Hercules, seated, with club, and as in Spalyrias' coins.

Monog., No. 124. *Mr. Bayley.*

And a second piece, 173. Ordinary monog., No. 124, with Arian *s*, *si*, or *ti*.

9.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Standing figure, to the right; with the right arm extended horizontally, and holding a chaplet.

Rev.—Figure in short tunic, but with loose veil-like garments around the head, etc. *Mr. Bayley.*

XXXII. SOTER MEGAS.

1.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Bust of king, with crested helmet, to the left; the right hand holds an arrow. Monog., No. 167, with the Arian letters, *ti*, in front of the profile.

Rev.—Azas' type of horseman, to the right, elevating a small object like a cross. BACIAEV BACIAEVON CWTIP MEIAC.

Monog., No. 167.

Mr. Bayley. A. A., ix. 8, 10.

2.—○ Copper.

Obs.—Bust of king, with rayed head; the right hand holds either a javelin with pennons or a simple dart. Monog., No. 167.

Rev. as above. Monog., No. 167. Pl. xvii. 26. *A. A., ix. 11, 12, etc.*

There are numerous subordinate varieties of this type of coin, which it is needless to particularise in this place.

3.—○ Copper.

Obs.—King on horseback, to the right. Legend as above. Monog., No. 167.

Rev.—A male figure, with flat helmet and fillet, casting incense upon a small altar. Legend, *Maharajasa Rajadīrajasa Mahatasa Tradatasa*. Monog., ti.

Pl. xviii. 23. *A. A., ix. 20, 21, 22*

4.—○ Copper.

Obs.—Head with fillet, to the right. Monog., No. 167.

Rev.—Standing figure, to the left, holding a staff or spear in the left hand, and what may possibly be intended for the thunderbolt in the right. Greek legend (imperfect). *Mr. Bayley.*

XXXII^a. KADPHISES.

1.—Gold. Unique.

Obs.—King, seated after the oriental fashion (cross-legged) on clouds. He holds a club in his hand, and small flames ascend from his shoulders; he wears a Scythic cap surmounted by a single-centred trident. Legend, BACIAEYC oohMo KADΦICHIC. Monog., 168.

Rev.—Siva and his bull (Nandi); flames rise from the divinity's head, and he holds a trident in his right hand. Legend, *Maharajasa Rajadīrajasa sarvaloga Inastasa Mahinastasa kopinastasa* - - -

Monog., 166.

Capt. Robinson.

2.—Gold.

Obv.—King, seated on an Eastern throne, with a flower in his right hand. Legend and monog. as above.

Rev.—Device as No. 1. Monog., ditto. *A. A.*, x. 5, and xxi. 17.

I do not propose to enter into any detail of the coins of Kadphises in this place, as they scarcely belong to the Bactrian series. It will be sufficient to remark, that the types usually consist of a figure of the king in his Scythic costume, with a reverse device symbolising the Hindú divinity Siva. These coins are known only in gold and copper, the single supposed silver specimen in the E. I. H.¹⁴ having proved to be of copper plated over!

XXXIII. GONDOPHARES.

1.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Azas' horseman, to the right. ΒΑCΙΑΕΥC ΒΑCΙΑΕΥΝ ΓΟΝΔΟΦΑΡΟΥ. Monog., No. 164.

Rev.—Figure, with trident. Legend, *Maharaja Rajarajasa Mahatasa Gadaphratasa.*

B. M. coin. Monog., No. 162. *A. A.* (billion coin), v. 16. Pl. xliii. 15.

2.—○ Copper.

Obv.—As above. (ΥΝΔΟΦ - -) Monog., No. 164.

Rev.—Minerva, armed, to the right. Monog., No. 127 with 174. *A. A.*, v. 17.

3.—○ Copper.

Obv.—As above, with the addition of ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ in the legend.

Rev.—Male figure, with spear, to the right.

Monog., No. 127 with 176, also *T* and *Phrs.* *A. A.*, v. 18.

¹⁴ *A. A.*, xi. 9.

4.—□ Copper.

Obv.—King, on horseback; to his front is seen Victory, presenting a chaplet. Legend, BACIAEo - - - ΦΑΡΥ (?)

Rev.—Centre device, the monogram figured under No. 164. Legend, *Máhá - - Dhaga - - sa Apratikatasa Ja - - sa Gudapharasa.*

Monogs., Arian letters *Bu* and *San*. A. A., xxi. 16.

Mr. Bayley.

5.—

Obv.—Head of king, to the left; the contour similar to the Pakore's busts. Legends imperfect. B. B., etc.

Rev.—Victory, with chaplet. *Máharajasa Rajadīrajasa akatasa Gudaphara - - - - Monog., Gu, and an indistinct Arian letter.* *Mr. Bayley.*

6.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Head of king, to the right, greatly barbarised.

Rev.—Victory, as in No. 5. Legend, *Máharajasa Godapha(?)sa Tradatasa.* Pl. xviii. 5—8.

7.—○ Copper. Small barbaric coin.

Obv.—Rude filleted head, to the right. Abbreviated Greek legend, BACI BAC - - Y

Rev.—Rude figure of Thessalian Minerva, to the right. Legend, *Rajadīrajasa Mahatasa Godapharasa.*

Monog., Arian *Stri* and *Há* or *Ho*.

XXXIV. ABDALGASES.

1.—☉ Copper.

Obv.—Azas' horseman, to the right, with flat cap and flowing fillet; hand upraised. Legend, corrupt, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ-ΟΝΤΟΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΙ ΑΒΑΔΓΑΣΟΥ. Monog., 164.

Rev.—Erect figure, to the right; head-dress as on the obverse, with spear, hand extended. Legend, *Godaphara Bhroda Putrasa Maharajasa Abdagasasa.*

Capt. Robinson, 163, with Arian monog. (Sakre or Saphre).

2.—○ Copper. Similar types, with the addition of the title of *Tradatasa* before the name on the reverse.

3.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Horseman, to the left.

Rev.—Figure, as in No. 1, without the cap.

Major Cunningham.

*)—Small coin. *Mr. Bayley.*

4.—○ Copper.

Obv.—As No. 1. Monog., No. 146, with *T*.

Rev.—Erect figure, holding a small statue of Victory, to the left. Monog., No. 127 with 165. *Mr. Bayley.*

SUB-ABDAGASES-SASAN.

1.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Horseman, as in No. 1. Legend imperfect. Monog., No. 164, with *P*. *My Cabinet*, 164, and *B*.

Rev.—Figure as above, No. 1. Legend, *Maharajasa Mahatasa Tradatasa* - - - ¹⁵ *Godaphrasa Sasasa*.

Monog., No. 166 with *γ*, and small letters, *P*, *Sh*, etc., in the field. *Mr. Bayley*, *P*, *Pi*, etc. *A.A.*, v, 20.

2.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Azas horseman.

Rev.—Jupiter, holding a figure of Victory, to the left. Legend, *Maharajasa Rajaulkirijasa Saccha Dha(ma-pidasa) Sasasa*. [*Cunningham*]. Monog., No. 127 with 165. *A.A.*, v. 19.

XXXV. ARSACES.

I extract the following notice of the coins of Arsaces from *Major Cunningham's* paper in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. xi. p. 135, 1842.

“ 1.—○ Copper.

Obv.—A horseman, to the right. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ.

Rev.—Type obliterated. *Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ashshakasa tadatasa*.

¹⁵ *Major Cunningham* renders this doubtful word as *Devahadasa*, God-hearted, Θεοφορος. *J.A.S.B.*, vii. of 1854, p. 713.

"2.—○ Copper.

Rev.—A horseman, to the right. Legend, imperfect, BA-
ΣΙ - - ΟΥ ΑΡΕΑΚΟΥ.

Rev.—Male figure, to the left, holding out a small figure in
his right hand. *Maharajarajasa* - - - Α (*shshakasa*)."

XXXVI. PAKORES.

1.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Bearded head, to the left; the hair is elaborately
curled and arranged after the Persian fashion. BA-
CΙΑΕΥC BACΙΑ^{λεωv} ΠΑΚΟΡΙC.

Rev.—Victory with chaplet, to the right. *Maharajasa*
Rajadhirajasa Mahatasa Pakurasa.

B. M. coins have monograms, composed of Bactrian letters,
go, ro, to, associated with the character Φ on the opposite side
of the reverse field,

XXXVIII. ORTHIAGNES.

1.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Head of king, to the left; the hair is arranged after
the Persian fashion on the Pakores' device. Legend
corrupt. BACIAEYC BACIAEQON META C oP-
OAI'NIIC.

Rev.—Victory, to the right, holding out a fillet. Legend,
imperfect, (*Maharajasa*?) *Mahatasa Gudupharasa*
- - - *B. M.* Bactrian monogs., *gu* and *go*.

VI.

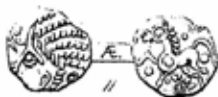
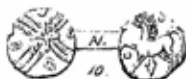
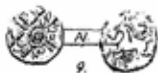
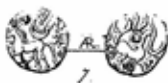
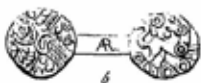
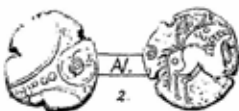
ON SOME UNPUBLISHED TYPES OF ANCIENT
BRITISH COINS.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, March 19th, 1857.]

It is now some years since the attention of this society has been called to the uninscribed series of ancient British coins, which has, however, like the inscribed series, been receiving constant accessions of new types and varieties, by the discovery of fresh specimens in various parts of the country. Though, of course, in interest falling far short of the coins bearing inscriptions which identify them as having been struck by some prince or city known in history, or even of those which merely afford some vague clue to what may possibly give grounds for an attempt at their appropriation; yet these anepigraphous coins, especially where the places of their *provenance* are known, are by no means unworthy of notice, and even of attentive consideration. They not only assist us in determining the districts in which some of the inscribed types were struck, but also, being links in the same chain of successive imitations of imitations, by their greater or less resemblance to their prototype, afford means of arriving at an approximate estimate of the era to which to assign them. The common prototype to which nearly all the ancient British uninscribed coins, and the majority of the inscribed, may be referred, is,¹ as I have already shewn, the Gaulish imitation of the Macedonian Philippos; the successive imitations of

¹ Num. Chron., Vol. XII., p. 127.





UPPERSEA

CONRAD ARMANDO BRUGG 1871/2

ANCIENT BRITISH COINS.

imitations of which, each getting farther and farther from the original, and at each successive step decreasing in weight, formed for many years the currency of the Ancient Britons, before any inscriptions appeared on the coins.

It would, however, I think, be erroneous to suppose, that the uninscribed coins were superseded by the inscribed at the same period in every part of the country; on the contrary, it appears to me, that the use of letters upon the coins commenced upon the south-eastern coast, and spread gradually northward, in the same manner as most probably the use of money itself had originally done; so that the coins of the Iceni and Brigantes, or those found in the Norfolk and Yorkshire districts, were among the latest to receive inscriptions upon them.

The coins that I have selected as being the most remarkable among those of the uninscribed class that have of late been discovered, are twelve in number, all of which are represented in the annexed Anastatic Plate.

The first was discovered in the neighbourhood of Norwich in the year 1853, and came into the possession of Mr. Goddard Johnson, from whom it passed into the collection of the late Mr. Loscombe, at the sale of whose coins it was purchased for the British Museum. It bears a considerable resemblance to the coin found at Oxnead, Norfolk (Hawk. pl. i. 2; Rud. pl. A. 87; Num. Jour. vol. i. p. 224), and is of gold, weighing $83\frac{1}{2}$ grains. On the obverse are two crescents back to back, in the centre of a cross formed by single lines of pellets, which has four ring ornaments in the spaces between its limbs. On the reverse is a horse to the right, standing upon an ornamented exergal line, its tail divided into branches; above, below, and in front, stars of pellets, and in the field, two ring ornaments.

The second coin was also found in Norfolk, and is likewise of gold. The blank not having been placed in the centre of the dies, the devices are to one side of the coin, both on the obverse and reverse. The device on the obverse appears to be a voided cross, formed by arched lines with rows of pellets between them; and in the centre, a circle enclosing a ring ornament so as somewhat to resemble a rose. It has a great analogy with the type of Num. Jour. vol. i. p. 222, pl. I, 5, Ruding, pl. A, 78, which I should also consider to be attributable to the Iceni. On the reverse is a horse galloping to the right, his tail branched, from the root of which proceeds a crescent-shaped figure, divided into compartments, and turning over his head. In the field, ring ornaments and pellets. The weight is $86\frac{1}{2}$ grains, and the coin is in my own collection.

From the place of finding, and the general character of these two coins, they may, I think, be safely attributed to the Iceni. The peculiar branching of the tail is observable upon the coins of Addedomaros, and also upon some of the silver coins of the Iceni. See the two engraved in Num. Chron., Vol. II. p. 72, Nos. 7 and 8, found at March, Cambridgeshire. The prominent place that the two crescents back to back assume on these coins, is also one of their remarkable features. I have already shewn how they may be traced back, and proved to be merely corruptions of the original type of the head of Apollo, in the Num. Chron., Vol. XII. p. 127, so that I need not now further remark on the pedigree of these types.

The third coin in the Plate is also of gold, weighing $81\frac{1}{2}$ grains. The obverse is plain and convex; and on the reverse is a rude disjointed horse to the left, with a star below, and a star of pellets in front. Though its place of finding is not known, it may, from the resemblance of the

horse upon it to that on the coins reading DVMNO COVEROS, VEP CORF, etc., and on uninscribed coins found in Yorkshire, be safely attributed to the Brigantes. It is in my own collection, as is also the fourth coin, the type of which, though not given by Ruding or Hawkins, will be found in Stukeley, Pl. xix. No. 3, engraved from a coin in the collection of Joseph Tolson Lockyer, F.S.A.

On the obverse is a cross formed by wreaths, with two crescents in the centre, and in the angles appear locks of hair, the crescents representing the front hair, and the clothing of the neck, of the wide-spread bust that is found on the earlier British coins: so that this type is a most important link between those with merely the cruciform ornament, and those on which an attempt at a laureated bust is plainly discernible. On the reverse, is a moderately well-shaped horse to the right; in front, a representation of the sun; below, a wheel; and above a curved figure between pellets, similar to that¹ on some of the coins of the Whaddon Chase find (to which this type bears some general resemblance), being probably the debased representative of the Victory leaning over the biga on the prototype. The weight of this specimen is 85½ grains, and it was found last year at Manuden, near Bishop's Stortford. I have another specimen of the same type, weighing 82½ grains, and found at Farthinghoe, Oxon; and I have also seen a similar coin found at Hallaton, Leicestershire; so that the district through which this type was current must have been extensive, though the coins are by no means common. There is a close relationship between them and those found a few years since at Womersley,² near Guildford.

¹ Num. Chron., Vol. XII. Pl. 1, 4, 5, 6, 7.

² Smith's Coll. Ant., Vol. I., Pl. lvi., 3, 4.

There is also considerable analogy between this coin and that engraved as No. 5 on the Plate, which is, however, of smaller module, weighing only $18\frac{4}{5}$ grains, and has not the crescents in the centre of the obverse, nor so decidedly a cruciform appearance. The horse on the reverse is also rather different in character, and has a star of pellets above, and a wheel below. It is in the Museum Collection, but the place where it was found is not known.

Unlike the preceding coins, No. 6 is in silver, but has on the obverse the cruciform ornament, with two crescents in the centre, somewhat similar to that of the first type of the Weston coins (Num. Chron., Vol. XV. p. 98). On the reverse is an animal, which can hardly be termed a horse, nor indeed any other known animal, looking backwards, with his tail erected; in the field, various annulets and pellets. The weight of this coin, which is in the Museum Collection, is $14\frac{1}{5}$ grains, and it was found in Suffolk. From this circumstance, and its general appearance, it may be classed among the coins of the Iceni; to which classification the next coin, No. 7, may, I think, also lay claim. On the obverse is a well-formed horse to the left, with ring ornaments and a star of pellets on the field; and as a memento of the origin of the type, notwithstanding the presence of the horse on the obverse, instead of, as usual, on the reverse, we find above it a crescent and wreath, in fact, one quarter of the cruciform ornament so common on these coins. On the reverse is a strange animal, not susceptible of any zoological description, but which, for want of a better name, may be called an ornithocephalous horse, with long ears, and apparently pecking at a snake. In the field are ring ornaments and a wheel of pellets. The coin is of silver and of remarkably little weight, being only $7\frac{1}{5}$ grains. It is in the Museum Collection.

The next coin, No. 8, is of gold, weighing $17\frac{1}{2}$ grains, and in the same collection. Mr. Huxtable also possesses a similar specimen. On the obverse is a cruciform ornament with a pellet in the centre, each limb of the cross being curved, and two of them being made to represent the heads of eagles, with a mane or crest running down behind their necks; the other two limbs terminate in ring ornaments, but have a sort of fringe extending from them. On the reverse is a horse to the left; above, a star; and below, a rose of pellets; in front of the horse, an annulet, which is connected to the horse's neck. From the type of the reverse, which bears a very close resemblance to coins found at Bognor, Bracklesham, and Chichester, and other parts of the Kent and Sussex coast, I am inclined to attribute these coins to the south-eastern part of England, though their place of finding is not known.

No. 9 was found at Bracklesham, and is engraved in Dixon's *Geology of Sussex*, p. 80, No. 3, having been in that author's collection, though now in the British Museum. It is of red gold, weighing 15 grains. In the centre of the obverse there is a ring ornament, in lieu of the usual crescents, surrounded by pellets, on either side of which the wreath appears crossed by two corded lines. In two of the spaces formed by the cross are the figures representing the locks of back hair; and in the other two, the crescents representing the front hair of the wide-spread bust of the prototype. On the reverse is a horse to the left, with an annulet in front connected to the neck and ring ornaments, and a star in the field. It is a very remarkable little coin, the type of the obverse being especially worthy of notice.

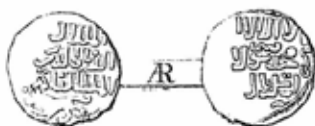
The three remaining coins on the Plate, Nos. 10, 11, and 12, are also singular in their types, and were all three found in Bedfordshire, and are now in my own collection.

No. 10 is of gold, weighing $20\frac{1}{2}$ grains, and very similar to the coin inscribed EPPI, engraved in Num. Chron., Vol. XVI. p. 80, No. 4. On the obverse is a cruciform ornament, with crescents in the centre, and horse-shoe shaped figures in the angles. On the reverse is a rather peculiar horse with an uncertain adjunct beneath. There is a great resemblance between this horse and that on the reverse of the subsequent coin, No. 11, which is, however, of copper, weighing $25\frac{1}{2}$ grains. On its obverse is a rudely-formed head to the left, the hair being represented by corded lines, and in general character very similar to that on some of the coins of Tasciovanus. There is a star in the field in front of the face.

The head upon the obverse of the 12th coin, which is also of copper, and weighing $36\frac{1}{2}$ grains, is almost Peruvian in its character, the hair turned back from off the face, and with a wheel or star in the place of the ear. The reverse is no less remarkable, the device being apparently an eagle devouring a snake, somewhat like that on the small silver coins of Epillus with the legend "Rex Calle," and on those reading "Epati." The origin of the types of both obverse and reverse is to me altogether obscure, and I have never met with any other coin at all analogous to it. In fact, all three coins belong to a district with the coins of which we are but little acquainted.

In conclusion, I may remark, that I have great pleasure in presenting the Plate of the twelve coins to the Numismatic Chronicle.

JOHN EVANS.



VII.

NOTICE OF A MAMLÚK COIN, STRUCK BY COMMAND OF THE SULTAN MELIK DHÁHER ROKN-ED-DIN BIBÁRS BONDOKDARI.

الملك الظاهر ركن الدين بيبرس بندقداري

[Read before the Numismatic Society, February 19th, 1857.]

By DR. L. LOEWE, F.R.A.S., M.S.A.P., &c., &c.

AT one of our meetings I promised, on the invitation of our President, to read a few observations respecting a Mamlúk coin, which I then had the honor of exhibiting. I will now, with your permission, fulfil my promise.

The history of the Mamlúk sultans is so well described by the Arabic author, 'Taki-ed-din Ahmed Makrizi, and so beautifully translated by Quatremère, that it required little research on my part to enable me to give a short account of the life and works of the sultan, by whose command the coin in question was struck.

مَمْلُوك *Mamlúk*, is a word derived from the Arabic **مَلِك** *Múlík*, signifying possession, or property, and refers to the Turkish and Circassian slaves who formed the body

guard of the successors of Salahdin; and who, having been raised to some of the principal offices in the kingdom, became, at last, masters of Egypt themselves.

Melik Moezz Izz-ed-din Aibek was the first Mamlúk sultan, Melik-Mansúr Núr ed-din Ali was the second, and Melik Modhaffer Kutúz the third. These three Mamlúks reigned from the year 1250 to 1260 of the Christian era, when Melik Dhaher Rokn ed-din Bibárs Bondokdari began to reign and continued to remain in power till the year 1277.

Bibárs, a native of Turkey, was bought by Melik Sâleh Nejm ed-din Ayúb; he distinguished himself in the service of his master, and, by degrees, became elevated in rank. After the death of Melik Sâleh he entered into the service of Melik Moadham, and remained with him until the time when the life of the latter ended by having his throat cut. Bibárs continued to rise in estimation on account of his prodigious valor; and, after the death of Fares-ed-din Aktaï, he left Káhirah for Syria. A little while after, he returned to Egypt and accompanied Kutúz in his expedition against the Tartars. On that occasion he asked Kutúz to appoint him governor of Aleppo. This the Sultan refused. Fearing to have a man like Bibárs as an enemy, he resolved to deprive him of his life. Bibárs, however, received information of that project in good time, and he, one day, when the Sultan returned from a hunting party, entered the Royal tent to ask for the possession of one of the female prisoners of war; the Sultan immediately granted his request, and Bibárs, under the pretence of kissing his hands as a mark of gratitude, took hold of the Sultan's arm, which was a preconcerted signal with the other emirs to commence an attack. One emir struck him with the sword on the neck, a second pulled him down from the horse on which he still sat, and a third sent an arrow into his heart.

After the assassination of the sultan, all the emirs who took part in the plot entered the Royal tent, when the emir Aktaï-Mostáfereb rose and asked, "Which among you has taken the life of Kutúz?" and Bibárs, in the most composed manner, declared that he himself had perpetrated the act. Upon this Aktai-Mostáfereb said, "Sit down in his place—sit on the throne destined for the Sultan."

Bibárs, the new sultan, took first the title of الملك الغاهر *Elmelik Elkáhir*, "the conquering king"; but the vázir Zein ed-din Jakúb ben Zohaír advised him to change that title, as no one observed the vázir, who bore it ever succeeded in his career. Bibárs, therefore, adopted instead the title of Melik Dhaher, الملك الظاهر. This word has a double signification: first, "the glorious," and, secondly, an allusion to an individual who follows the practical devotions of religion, as prescribed by the simple words of the koran.

The inhabitants of Káhíreh, as well as all Mamlúks in the different Egyptian provinces, gladly submitted to the sceptre of Bibárs, with the exception only of the emir Sanjar Halebi, the governor of Damascus. He persuaded the emirs to acknowledge his own supreme authority; and, on the 6th day of the month Dhoo'l Hidge, the prayer in the mosque was offered up for the life and prosperity of Melik Dháher as well as for that of Melik Mújáhíd, the latter being the title which Sanjar Halebi then adopted. He went even so far as to have money struck, bearing inscriptions which united the name of Melik Dháher with that of Melik Múdjáhíd.

In the same year, however, a revolution broke out at Aleppo, the governor was deposed, and the emir حسام الدين *Húsám ed-din El-júkán dár El-azízí* ال جوكان دار العزيزى was appointed in his stead. He was favorably inclined to Bibárs; and after various battles had been fought with

marked success by the forces of the sultan, the revolution was quelled. The army of the sultan then directed their course, under the command of the emir Jemal ed-din Múhammad, towards Damascus, there deposed Melik Mújáhid, and proclaimed Bibárs as Sultan.

Bibárs suppressed the various revolutions in Syria, and made himself feared by the Mongols, the Greeks, and the Armenians.

To give more dignity to his elevated position, he caused Ahmed (Mostanser Billah), a prince of the Abbasside family, to confer upon him the title of Sultan, whilst he left the title of Khálifa to Ahmed. This important act took place in the year 1264, a year particularly distinguished in consequence of the brilliant comet which appeared in the constellation of Orion.

In the diploma which the Khálifa gave to the sultan, the following passages occur, which show what spirit of hatred pervaded the heart of the enemy with whom the Crusaders, at that time, had to fight:—

“One of the most important points which must be treated here,” says the Khálifa, “is the war against the infidels; this is a most indispensable duty incumbent upon all the Múslemin—this is an act, the remembrance of which will be recorded in history. God has promised a magnificent reward to all those who fight in the cause of religion, and has reserved for them a most eminent place in paradise.

“Already you have distinguished yourself by brilliant acts, which caused the envious to turn pale for shame. You have shown a power of resolution more penetrating than the sword, more agreeable to the Múslemin than the most entertaining feasts. It is by your valor that God protected the ramparts of Islam, and secured them from being profaned by the enemy. Your courage has preserved for the Múslemin the integrity of their empire. Your sword has

inflicted incurable wounds in the hearts of the infidels, and it is by you that the throne of the Khálifas, will, we hope, regain its former splendour."

To evince his gratitude to the Khálifa, and to make his devotion to the representative of the Prophet known to the Múslemin, he caused the inscription on the coins henceforth to be struck to contain the following words :—

ببیرس قسليم امير المؤمنين الحاكم بامر الله العباس احمد

Bibárs, the intimate friend of the Commander of the faithful, the Imam who governs by the command of God, Ahmed the Abbaside.

In his wars with the Crusaders, he encountered several disasters, but he nevertheless took from them many important cities; and a letter which I shall now have the honor of reading to you, addressed to Bohemond, the son of Robert Guiscard, after his taking of Antioch in the year 1267, will give you an example of the fierce manner in which he treated his enemies.

"To the illustrious, venerable and honourable Count, the warrior, the belligerent lion, the glory of the Christian nation, the chief of the Crusaders, and the greatest among the adorers of Jesus. To him, whose title of *Prince*, by the fall of Antioch became changed for that of *Count*. May God lead him into the right path, crown his enterprises with a happy result, and cause good counsel to find easy access to him at all times.

"The Count, I say, is well aware of our having marched against Tarablús and of our having carried war into the very heart of his estates. He has seen, since our departure, his ships destroyed, his men killed, and the churches swept from the face of the earth. The Count has also seen every house given up to all kinds of outrage; the dead

bodies heaped up on the sea-shore like islands; the men slaughtered, and their children made prisoners; the women sent into slavery; and all the trees cut down except those required for the construction of implements of war and palisades. We have taken all that belonged to you and your subjects, money, women, children, and flocks; the poor amongst us have become rich, the bachelor has received a wife, the servant is a keeper of slaves, and he who before walked on foot now rides on horseback.

"And you, you did contemplate the sight of a man given up to the agonies of death, and on hearing a voice, you surely, in the most terrified manner, must have said unto yourself, 'Oh that voice is directed against me!' You have been well aware of our having only left you for the purpose of again coming back to you, and our object in granting you some respite has only been to wait for the time previously fixed upon by us.

"When we left your estates, there was not a single beast without its following our troops, not a girl without being in our power, not a column without having fallen under the blows of our pickaxes, not a field without its crops being gathered by us; in short there was no single object of your property which fell not into our hands. You could not find refuge either in the caverns of the highest rock, or in the deepest valley, which penetrates even into the midst of the frontiers and surpasses all imagination.

"You were also aware, how, after leaving you, we appeared in front of Antioch, the capital, without any sign being previously given of our approach; you knew that we intended going away from you only for a short time, with the intention of coming back soon afterwards. Well, we send you now the accomplished facts, and we are going to inform you of all the calamities which befell the land.

"We left Tarablús on Wednesday, the 24th day of Shábán, and encamped behind the wall of Antioch on the first day of the month of Ránádan. The moment after our arrival, your troops came out of the town to attack us, but we conquered them. They mutually supported themselves, but could not obtain any advantage thereby. The lord high constable, who was among the prisoners we had taken, asked for permission to have a conference with your subjects, and I agreed to it. He entered into the town, and soon returned, accompanied by a number of monks and principal personages among your attendants. They wanted to treat with us, but we soon found out that their designs were similar to yours, which are to kill the people; for when the matter under discussion was the doing of any good, their plans were opposed; on the contrary, when it was the doing of evil, they were all of one opinion. Seeing that their fate was decided without remedy, and that God had decreed their death, we dismissed them, saying, 'We are now going to besiege you immediately; this is the first and last information we can give you.' They left us, acting in a manner as you would do, fully impressed with the idea that you would come with your infantry and cavalry to help them. However, during the interval of less than an hour, the field-marshal, the superior of the monks, the keeper of the castle, all were surrounded by death. We made the assault, sword in hand, on Saturday at four o'clock, the fourth day of the month of Ramadán, and destroyed all those whom you had selected to guard and defend the town. Among the people we found there, every one had at least something in his possession, but now there is not one among us who has not either one of the people themselves, or something that belonged to them, in his possession. Oh if you had seen the riders, how they were thrown under the feet of their

horses! your houses invaded by the plunderers, and freely over run by those who were searching after spoil! If you had seen your wealth weighed by the kintar; and your jewels, how they were sold or bought with your own treasures, at the price of four for one dinár; if you had seen your churches demolished, your crosses cut to pieces, and the books of your false evangelists exposed; if you had seen your enemy, the Múslim, ravaging the sanctuary; the monk, the priest, and the deacon, all slaughtered on the altar; the nobles given up to misfortune, and the princes of the royal family reduced to slavery; if you could only have contemplated the sight of flames penetrating into your palaces; the dead given up to the flames of this world previous to their being given up to the fire which awaits them in the other;—your palaces, with all the furniture therein, destroyed; the churches of St. Paul and Assian tottering, and at last ceasing to exist; if you could have seen all this, you surely would have said, 'I wish to God I had been transformed into clay!' or, 'I wish I had never received the letter which gives me the account of this fearful catastrophe.'¹

¹ ولو رايت كنايسك وصلبانها قد كسرت ونسرت وصجفها من
 الاناجيل المزورة قد نشرت وقبور البطارقة وقد بعثت ولو رايت
 عدوك المسلم وقد داس مكان القداس والمذبح وقد ذبح فيه
 الراهب والقسيس والشماس والبطارقة قد دهموا بطارقة وابنا
 المملكة وقد دخلوا في المملكة ولو شاهدت النيران وهي في
 قصورك تخرق والقلى بنار الدنيا قبل الآخرة تخرق وقصورك
 واحوالها قد حالت وكنيسة بولس وكنيسة العسيان وقد زلت
 وزالت لكنت تقول يا ليتني كنت ترابا ويا ليتني لم اوت
 بهذا التمبر كتابا

"This mournful state of things will cause your soul to expire; and these flames will become extinguished by the water of your tears. Oh! if you were to see your habitations empty of all that belonged to them; all your chariots taken; all your vessels lying in the port of Súwádiah and your boats fallen into the power of your enemy; you, surely, would feel convinced, that God who has first given Antioch to you, has now again taken it from you;—that the Lord who has given the citadel into your possession, has now again deprived you of it, and made it altogether disappear from the face of the earth. You will now understand, that we have, thank God, taken again possession of the Islam fortresses which you had seized, viz. Shákif-Talmis, Shákif-Kafr-denin, and all other places in the district of Antioch. We have forced the soldiers to leave the castle; we have taken them by the hair, and dispersed them far and nigh. Nothing remained to which the word 'resistance' could be applied, unless it were 'the river'; and, even that, if it could, would cease to bear the name of *Así*, عامى 'the rebel.' That river now sheds tears of regret. Formerly its tears consisted of clear water, but now they are of blood, which we have poured into it.

"This letter contains good tidings for you, inasmuch as it informs you, that it pleased God to watch over your life and to prolong your days, as it so happened that you have not been yourself at Antioch during that time. If you had been there, surely, you would now have been either killed or made prisoner, wounded or mutilated.

"A living man contemplating the sight of a field covered with dead bodies, must feel some pleasure in knowing that he is himself in safety; perhaps God granted the prolongation of your days that you may thereby have time allowed to

make good all you have hitherto neglected to do, with regard to obedience and service due to him.

"As none escaped who could inform you of this event, we have taken it upon ourselves to do so. It not being in the power of any one to let you know that your life is in safety, and that all the others died, we have given you all the information in this our despatch, that you might know things exactly as they are. After receiving such a letter, you ought not to accuse us any more of falsehood, nor need you to ask any one for further information."

Bohemond, on receiving this letter, was very much irritated, this being indeed the first news he received of the fall of Antioch.

We must hope, and happily we have reason to believe, that the Múhammedan princes of the present century have given up that spirit of revenge, and that any royal diploma given to the sovereign of any of their countries will not any longer recommend the entire annihilation of the Franks; or, at all events, that the representatives of European powers will always take care, that the Múhammedans shall not act in strict accordance with injunctions similar to those of the Khálifa Abu'l-Kâsem Ahmed.

This letter, showing how the Múhammedans at that time felt with regard to Europeans, it may perhaps not be uninteresting to the members of this society to hear a few words of advice given by Admiral Sir Sydney Smith, in a letter which I had the honour of receiving twenty years ago. The original is in the following words:—

"Your note of this morning finds me at my writing table working for you, and surrounded by Arabic manuscripts, which I wished to put under your eye for your information and guidance in your projected tour. Your excuses for not coming to my distant residence I must necessarily

admit, knowing your multifarious and important occupations; but I cannot the less feel the disappointment at not having the opportunity of making some useful communications to you, such as :—

“An authentic copy of the capitulation granted by the Caliph Omar on his entry into Jerusalem, A.H. 15, to the Patriarch Zephirinus (Sophronius), giving and securing to the Christian subjects privileges still in existence when claimed by those who have the right and have the sense to appeal to the original (one of four) in the archives of the law officers at Constantinople, a copy of which I sent to the persons interested therein, living under the authority of the Pasha of Jerusalem, in order that they might exhibit to the latter, and remind him, in my name, that the Christian powers had an eye upon him, and would not fail to comply with each other's request, to make a joint effort for their protection in case of its arbitrary violation.

“2ndly. The correspondence of the ecclesiastical authorities of the four Christian right guardians of the Holy Sepulchre.

“3rdly. The correspondence of the present ministers of Sultan Mahmúd with me on their own affairs as dependent on me, knowing that my eye is keen as a hawk's, and my claws long when I am obliged to put them out, always against my will, and never but when forced by imperative circumstances, such as violation of principles and treaties, oppression of the defenceless, and their evident need of the succour my influence or action may be supposed to be equal to affording them.”

Bibárs then proceeded to the Holy Land, made himself master of Zafed, the castle of Kárak, of Tiberias, and various other places. He ravaged Little Armenia and made the king's son prisoner, took possession of Derbesák, Derkúsh, Belmish, Káfrdenin, Rábán and Merzéban. He

also penetrated into Nubia, upset the throne of David, and substituted Meshker, who engaged to give up to Bibárs half of his annual revenues.

In the year 1268, Bibárs went into the Hejáz, where he received the homage of all the Emirs; he entered Mecca and Medina, where he most creditably acquitted himself of his duties as a pious Múslim; and opened on that occasion friendly relations with the king of Yemen, who offered him many valuable and handsome presents.

Makrizi gives a description of the various contemporaries of Bibárs, among whom we find *St. Louis*, or *Louis IX.*, who, with the intention of converting the Bey of Tunis, proceeded to his capital, and there died, at the age of fifty-five, in the year 1270.

With regard to Edward, who, after the death of *St. Louis*, went to the Holy Land, and distinguished himself by his valiant exploits, Makrizi gives the following account.

"Bibárs," he says, "having been informed of the arrival of the King of England, that he landed at Acre with 300 horse, eight large ships, and many other vessels, forming in all thirty sail, and that it was his intention to go on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, he encamped at Tripolis, and there, after divers occurrences, the Franks sued for peace, and obtained a truce of ten years' duration."

Makrizi, however, adds, that Bibárs sent two of his officers with 3000 Egyptian dinárs to redeem the prisoners.

Bibárs was a most active prince; he examined personally all that was going on in his estates; he was sure to inspect his fortresses, and, on many occasions, he himself assisted to demolish the walls and strongholds of his enemies. His activity induced the poet of his age to say of him, "One day in Egypt, one day in the Hejáz, one day in Syria, and one day in Aleppo."

In the year 1268, when his army supposed him dan-

gerously ill in his tent near Orsúf, he secretly left the place, went to Egypt, there regulated all the affairs of the state, and, after a short time, re-appeared to his soldiers who were under the impression that he had never quitted his tent.

In the year 1277, however, the moment arrived when his glory was to become extinguished, and his life was to end, by a fate similar to that which he had prepared for his predecessor Kútúz. The astrologers told him, that some great man would die that year; and Bibárs, with the intention of removing the evil fate from himself, prepared a poison for Malik Kaher, a prince of the house of Salahdin; but the cup which contained the poison was forgotten to be removed, and Bibárs, taking it himself, drank its fatal contents and expired in the greatest sufferings, after a reign of seventeen years.

Bibárs bore the title of أبو الفتح *Abū'l futúkh*, "the father of victory," and ordered the figure of a lion, called in Arabic الأسد الصرغام *Eldássad Eddharghám*, "the ferocious lion," to be struck on the money issued during his reign, as an emblem of the wars he made against his enemies, and the victories he achieved over them. Marsden considers the lion as an imitation of the style adopted by the Seljúk princes.

He also selected the title of ركن الدين *Rokn ed-din*, "The pillar or support of religion," in reference to the black corner-stone of the Cábá, which is called ركن البيت *Rokn el-beit*, and to signify thereby his most fervent attachment to the Islam.

On the coin which I again have the honour to exhibit, the الأسد الصرغام and the title of ركن الدين were inscribed, but not the title of الملك الظاهر which he was advised to adopt by his Vázir, Zein-éd-din Jakúb ben Zobáir: he is still called by his original title الملك الظاهر *Elmelik Elkáhir* "The conquering king." It follows therefore that the coin in question must have been one of the first issued from the mint of Bibárs.

In conclusion, we must not omit to state some of his benevolent traits. He distributed annually one hundred thousand measures of corn, and provided munificently for the widows and orphans of the soldiers who died on the field of battle.

He founded the college of Dhaheirih at Kahireh, built a caravanserai in the Holy City of Jerusalem, made magnificent bridges across the Nile, and constructed the canals of Alexandria and Tánáh.

His two sons, Melik Saïd Nasr-ed-din Múhammad Berekeh-Khan and Melik Adl Bedr-ed-din Selámesh, only occupied the throne for the period of two years. The former, having irritated the emirs by his tyrannical caprices, was deposed; and his brother, who was then proclaimed sultan, met with a similar fate after a reign of one hundred days.

These revolutions having been planned by Keláún, the Atábek of the army, he took the crown for himself, in the year 1279.

A coin of Bibáirs with the inscription of القاهر being very scarce, this specimen from my cabinet deserves the attention of the numismatist. The alloy of the Dirhems of Dhaheir consisted of seventy per cent. of fine silver, and thirty per cent. of copper.

Silver. 54 grains.

Obv.—الملك . . . الدنيا والدين الملك القاهر.

"The King, the pillar of the world and of religion, the conquering King."

The word ركن is effaced. Below the inscription is the lion called الأسد الصرغام

Rev.—لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله أرسله بالهدى

"There is no God but God—Muhammad, the messenger of God—He sent him with guidance."

The rest of the usual legend, ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون and true faith, that he might exalt the religion above all, though the infidels be averse thereto," is omitted.

VIII.

STRAY LEAVES FROM THE JOURNAL OF A
TRAVELLER IN SEARCH OF
ANCIENT COINS.

BY J. G. PFISTER.

“La numismatique est une Maitresse dangereuse pour l'amateur, et toujours adorée, bien que cruelle, pour ses fervents disciples.”¹

DURING the eventful winter of 1847—48, whilst at Naples, I obtained permission to revisit the famous Museum of Antiquities of the Marquis of Sant-Angelo, and to inspect, as on a former occasion, the magnificent collection of coins and medals. There had also been of late commenced, the formation of a cabinet of mediæval coins, generally, however, referring only to the Neapolitan states. In a drawer of sundry yet unclassified mediæval and modern coins, I observed one, which, at the first glance, appeared to me to be an inedited testoon, struck by one of the family, De' Fieschi, Counts of Lavagna [Lavania]. I was entirely misled by the extraordinary resemblance in the design of its type to similar coins of that family, as well as by the inscription, which I read SEB. (*astianus*) EPS. (*Episcopus*) ET. PR. (*inceps*) LAV. (*anist.*)

¹ Mann mit zugeknöpften Taschen,
Thut dir Niemand was zu Lieb?
Hand wird nur von Hand gewaschen,
Wenn du nehmen willst, so gib!

And as there was no series of this sort of coins, I felt that I might venture to propose an exchange for a Cinquecento Neapolitan medallion. I easily obtained my request from my guide, the obliging and erudite numismatist, il Cavaliere Don Michele di Sant Angelo.

The coin was laid by with other acquisitions, and not thought of, until the spring, when I came to the gay and beautifully situated small fishing town of Sésstri di Levante,

Niemaß anfert dort die Sorge,
Niemaß landet dort ein Damppschiff
Mit neugletigen Pfeilfistern,
Tabackspfeifen* in den Mäulern.

It is the Segesta of Pliny, who attributes it to the Tiguli, and calls it "Segesta Tigulliorum." It belonged during the middle ages to the Fieschi family, and is situated not far from the town of Lavagna itself. During the evening, whilst I was in the garden of the hotel, listening to a song in praise of

"il bel paese
Che Appenin parte e'l mar circon da e l'Alpe"

I approached the singer, who was a relation of the landlord, and agreeing with him in praise of his country, I begged of him information as to the neighbouring town of Lavagna—whether there were yet to be seen some antiquities, some remains of the feudal Castle of the Fieschi, etc. He was sorry not to be able to inform me, but, pointing to a fine carriage just passing by, along the high road towards Genoa, said that the personage in that carriage could give me the best information. And who should it be, but Cardinal Fiesco himself; who was, he said, particularly liked

* A pipe is a great soother!—a pleasant comforter!—Blue devils fly before its honest breath! It ripens the brain—it opens the heart; and the man who smokes, thinks like a sage, and acts like a Samaritan!—*Night and Morning.*

in the country around, for his affability and amiable manners, as he was accustomed to receive, at a minute's notice, the poor as well as the rich. Relying upon such welcome information, I took my seat early the next morning in a Baroccio,³ by the side of my Ligurian Mentor; and the cigars being lighted, via! towards Chiavari, in which neighbourhood the Cardinal resided. It was the first of May 1848, and, indeed, a glorious May morning it was. The luxuriant beauty of the vegetation, the blossoms and flowers of the country around, was such that one might have fancied oneself in a tropical climate. However,

Nicht an das Wo ward Seligkeit gefunden,
Wer hat das Glück schon außer sich gefunden.

At the town of Chiavari I took a guide to conduct me to the Villa Fieschi, which was situated more in the direction of the mountains, about two miles distant. Arrived, and having dismissed my guide, I entered the court-yard, the doors being wide open, but nobody to be seen, until I came up to the house; there I met with an ecclesiastic who was the secretary of the Cardinal, and to whom I stated the object of my visit. He invited me immediately to walk upstairs; and, having waited a short time in a salon which contained many curious ancient paintings, I was presently ushered into an adjoining room, and stood before the Cardinal, who might have been some sixty years of age, of dignified appearance, and with a cheerful and healthy countenance. He was dressed in black, and wore a scarlet scull-cap. At once the words of Schiller came into my mind;

„Zwei meiner Hofs Herrn trugen die dreifache Krone,⁴
Das Blut der Fiescher fließt nur unter dem Purpur gesund.“

³ The Roman Birotte, which the Wallons have yet in Bi-ruetta.

⁴ Pope Innocent IV., Sinibaldo Fiesco, 1243—1254, and Adrian V., Ottobono Fiesco, in 1276, from July to September. Innocent IV., was the first Pope who introduced the golden rose, and

I excused myself as well as I could, that it was "*l'amour pour la science numismatique*" which had brought me before his eminence. The Cardinal threw a penetrating glance at me, and, probably convinced that I was a harmless fellow, seated himself on the sofa, and invited me to do the same. I then briefly stated, that I was in possession of rare coins, struck by his ancestors,⁵ which one day I might, perhaps, publish, and that I should feel grateful to his eminence for any information with regard to dates and facts, etc.

The Cardinal was sorry not to be able to comply with my request immediately, because all the family documents which he possessed were in the library of his palace at Rome. But if ever I should come to that city again, he would be glad to see me, and would give me all the information I might require on that subject. Or if I would note down in writing, the names of those of the Fieschi of whom I possessed coins, he then would forward to me the result of his researches, wherever I thought proper. In that case, I

the red hats for the Cardinals; as a symbol that they should be ready at any time to shed their blood for the church if required. He built in the county of Lavagna seventeen palaces, which were mostly burned down by the Emperor Frederic II., and in 1252 he built a great Basilica near the town of Lavagna.

In a MS. Chronicle (*Memoria di Chiavari*) in possession of Sig. Antonio Solari, at Chiavari, who permitted me to inspect it for Numismatic matters, I noticed also, that in A.D. 992, Rubaldo Fiesco, son of Tedisio, held in fief from the Emperor Otho III., (983—1002) Lavagna, "*con tutta l'aqua*," i.e., all the river Endella also the town of Sestri, and those lands wherein are situated the far famed slate quarries called Lavagna (slate in Gaelic is *leac*). From 1280 to 1292, we have Bonifacio Fiesco as Archbishop of Ravenna, who, in 1280, began to strike coins in that city. A Niccolo Fiesco was Bishop of Toulon 1518—1524. In the annals of Genoa, I found mentioned several Bishops of that family. Obizio, 1288—1292; Giacomo, 1398—1400; Giorgio, 1436—1439; and Laurenzio in 1705. The wife of Azzo Visconti, Lord of Milan, 1328—1339, was an Isabella dei Fieschi.

⁵ All these coins are now in the British Museum.

mentioned the Marquis Giuseppe Durazzo, at Genoa, who had honoured me at different periods with permission to visit him at his palace, and where I particularly recollect, one evening, the Marquis being surrounded by his beautiful little family, his amiable Marchioness, and, of course, plenty of old coins, showed that

*L'étude des sciences est une sorte de francmaçonnerie, qui rapproche les hommes, et les lie par un lien d'intérêt commun.*⁶

F. SORBY.

I then brought out my supposed new discovery of a coin struck by a Sebastian de' Fieschi. The Cardinal inspected it for a good while, but observed, however, that although the name of Sebastian occurred in his family, he did not think the coin could have been issued by a Fieschi, because none of his ancestors did, nor could ever have styled himself a prince in any public or even private document, because they were only Counts of Lavagna, Lords of Messerano,⁷ etc. Besides, the saint represented on the reverse of the coin referred neither to the country of Lavagna nor to the family, and therefore, his opinion was, that the coin did not belong to the Fieschi.

I then showed him a coin of Messerano, which his eminence approved of. Having also by me a fine silver medal referring, in my opinion, to the well known conspiracy of Ludovico Fiesco, Count of Lavagna, against the all-powerful sway of the family Doria, at that time (1547) in Genoa, I shewed it to the Cardinal, who had never previously seen it. On the obverse, is represented the bust of the great Andrea, (the Nelson of those days) in armour, wearing a long beard.

⁶ Sir Walter Scott says somewhere, that "the dice, like the grave, levels these distinguishing points of Society."

⁷ In 1394, May 29th, Antonio Fiesco, Count of Lavagna, was invested with the Lordship of Messerano, by Pope Boniface IX. *Zanetti*, vol. ii., p. 99.

He appears far advanced in age; to the left in the field, is a trident, and inscribed ANDREAS DORIA.*

The reverse shows the youthful and handsome bust of the famous conspirator himself.⁹

The Cardinal observed, smilingly, that there was a likeness. However, when I begged him to observe, that this side of the medal had no inscription, and that where there ought to have been one, a chain was to be seen, such as galley-slaves used to wear; and that also the neck of the

* I copied the following inscription under a window, outside the Church of St. Matteo, at Genoa.

MAIORVM NOSTRVM
MEMORIA ANDREAS DORIA
AFFLICTAM PATRIAM
NON DESERVIT.

And on his tomb in the subterranean part of that church,

ANDREAS D'ORIA
HAC IN CELLA CRVCI. D. N. I.
A SE DEDICATA SEPVLCRVM
SIBI VIVENS PARAVIT.
A.D. 1547.

And over a door of an ancient fine house in the Piazza Matteo, is inscribed

SENAT: CON: ANDREÆ
DE ORIA PATRIÆ
LIBERATORI MVNVS
PVBLICVM.

⁹ Some years ago, when Mr. Anderson, a distinguished actor, brought out Schiller's tragedy of Fiesco, at Drury Lane, I went to him at one of the rehearsals a day or two before the performance, and showed him this very medal, at the sight of which he was highly pleased. I gave him also, the coloured coat of arms of the families of the Dorias, as well as of the Fieschi. There was also present the eminent Mr. Planché, who told me that he had looked in vain, in public as well as private collections, for the arms of the Fieschi. I had the satisfaction to see them introduced in some of the costumes, as well as in the decoration of the scenery, during the performance.

It was the Marquis G. Durazzo, at Genoa, who had copied them himself, as well as many other coats of arms of distinguished Genoese families, from a manuscript in his library, and kindly presented them to me.

bust was chained to a small galley, probably to indicate the punishment he deserved for his crime, had he lived : at this my interpretation, his Eminence could not restrain himself any longer, but burst out into a loud laugh, and calling in his secretary, said to him, that "*Questo Signor Tedesco, has been so kind as to shew me the portrait of one of my ancestors as Gallcotto.*" I was certainly not embarrassed, because the Cardinal himself, scarcely a minute before, had acknowledged that there was a likeness in the portrait.

His Eminence condescended to converse with me for a good while on many topics, numismatics, travelling, on England, etc. ; and when I thought it time to take leave, he observed to me, "that if ever I came again to Chiavari, I was not to neglect going to see a church, dedicated to St. Salvatore di Lavagna, situated still nearer the mountains. He told me that it was the best Transalpine gothic edifice in that part of the country, but that it was seldom visited by travellers ; it had been built by one of his ancestors,¹⁰ and that I might see there many very fine ancient monuments of his family. The road," he continued, "leading to it, is certainly not a very good one ; and a torrent must be crossed, as there was no bridge, and which did not permit a ferry, on account of its shallowness during most parts of the year ; but that there were always strong men on the spot, to carry people over for a trifle."

So I took leave of his Eminence, wishing from all my heart, that he might yet enjoy in good health, for many years to come, such fine days of May ; and on my way, returning to Chiavari, I reflected with pleasure upon the kind reception I had received from Cardinal Fieschi.

And it was, indeed, with a sincere gratification and pleasure, that I read in the newspaper of Cologne

¹⁰ Probably Pope Innocent IV., Sinibaldo Fiesco : 1243—1254.

(*Kölnische Zeitung*), of the 8th of July, 1856, the following paragraph:—"Rome, 20th June. The venerable Cardinal Fieschi is so far convalescent, after having been for a long while unwell, that he was able, on St. John's day, to celebrate the solemn Festival-mass in the principal church of the Knights of Malta." And it was further observed, that "Since Lambruschini's death, Cardinal Fieschi became Grand Prior of the Order, whose members met this year from different parts of Italy, in greater numbers than on former occasions," etc.

Arrived at Geneva, I shewed my new acquisition of coins and medals to my highly esteemed friend, M. F. Soret, administrator of the Cantonal Museum, who at once congratulated me upon my supposed Fieschi testoon, which he pronounced to be a Swiss coin of the greatest rarity, an inedited testoon of Sebastian de Montfaucon, bishop of Lausanne; that there was only one more specimen known in a private collection at Zürich; that the Museum of Geneva possessed a copy of it; and that my specimen was even a little better preserved.

INEDITED TESTOON OF SEBASTIAN DE MONTFAUCON, THE
LAST BISHOP OF LAUSANNE, 1517—1536.¹¹



Obv.—Bust of the bishop to the right, represented about the age of thirty-eight, apparently attired with the vestment, and wearing the hair rather long, ac-

¹¹ This coin is now in the British Museum.

ording to the custom of the time. (Inscribed SEB✠EPS✠ET✠PRINCEPS✠LAV (Sebastianus Episcopus et Princeps Lausanensis).

Rev.—On the *Rev.* is represented the seated figure of Saint Marius, named as the first bishop and patron saint of Lausanne, and the last of Aventicum. He has the aureola round his head, and is in the act of giving the benediction. The left hand is also raised, in which he holds a palm branch. S✠MARIVS✠MARTIRIS. In the exergue, we observe an imperial eagle, and to the right is a flower for a mint-mark. These testoons (quarti) of Lausanne, not being of the best silver, their circulation was prohibited at Parma. Zanetti, V., p. 102.

Sebastian was the son of François de Montfaucon, brother of bishop Aymon, lord of Pierre Charres, and Jacqueline de la Rochette, in Savoy. He was born in 1495, and was appointed bishop of Lausanne on the 18th of September, 1517, by Pope Leo X., and the Emperor Maximilian I; and died at his Chateaux des Terraux, in Bugey (Bugesia), in 1560, having survived the loss of his bishopric twenty-four years.

It appears that the house of Montfaucon, or Montfaulcon, takes its name from a castle, Monte Falconis, situated in the neighbourhood of Besançon. The family had, however, also possessions in the Pays de Vaud, and in Savoy.

Amédée, or Amey de Montfaucon, son of Richard, count of Montbeillard, bought, in 1273, the castle and territory d'Echellens, for the sum of one hundred and forty "librae denariorum monetae Lausanensis," of the Chevalier Pierre de Chéseaux, of Lausanne. From 1347 to 1356, we have François; and 1491 to 1517, Aymon de Montfaucon, bishops of Lausanne. Aymon was a son of William de Montfaucon, lord of Flaxieux, in Bugey; his mother, Margaretha de Villette Chevron.

When the life of bishop Aymon was on the decline, many

VOL. XIX. O

of the gentry, spiritual as well as temporal, applied to him to take his cousin, Sebastian de Montfaucon, as his coadjutor. At first, Aymon refused to comply with their wish; but, upon their pressing solicitation, he consented; observing, however, that they would soon regret having given themselves so much trouble for his cousin, because he knew his disposition better than they did. It may be observed, that the bishop of Lausanne was chosen from among thirty-two canons of the cathedral, and was honoured, since the fourteenth century, with the title of Count of Lausanne, and Prince of the Holy Empire, thus partaking of the sovereignty as well as the township.¹²

The bishop was temporal prince, however, only over a part of the town of Lausanne, the four parishes of Lavaux, the vale and priory of Lutry, part of Vevey, and the castle and constableness of Aveches. Rudolph III., last king of the Burgundians, second race, was crowned at Lausanne, on which occasion he presented the bishop with the country of Vaud (*Comitatus Waldensis*). The act is of A.D. 1011, made at Vevey. Since that time, the bishops of Lausanne acquired great territory, and became mighty lords. In the fourteenth century, they bore the following title:—"By the grace of God, and of the holy Apostolic seat, Bishop and Count of Lausanne, and Prince of the Holy Roman Empire."

Under the German empire, Lausanne itself enjoyed great liberties and valuable privileges, without being exactly an imperial town, although under imperial protection, to which the small eagle on the coin probably refers.¹³

¹² In the *Conservateur Suisse*, we find that in the year 1405, it was "Défense de faire un foyer sans une cheminée élevée au moins de 6 pieds au dessus du toit, sous peine de 10 s., la demi à l'Evêque, la demi à la ville."

¹³ In 1297, the Emperor Adolphus of Nassau, and Pope Gregory X., had a conference at Lausanne, in which that Emperor confirmed to the Pope, the possession of the Exarchate of Ravenna, the Marches of Ancona, and the Duchy of Spoleto.

In 1251, the Emperor William, of Holland, pledged Arles, Besançon, Lausanne, and, with them, also the imperial rights, for 10,000 marks of silver, to Hugo, duke of Burgundy. In 1259, Louis, Seigneur de Bugey, son of Thomas of the House of Savoy, bore the title of Baron de Vaud. About 1271, a good deal more of the Pays de Vaud had past, by little and little, under the domination of that branch of the House of Savoy, and that part of the country was then called the Baronie de Vaud.

In 1368, May 1st, the laws of Lausanne were consolidated under the name of "*Placitum generale*," still called "*Plaid général*,"¹⁴ which was promulgated with the greatest *éclat*, of which the "*Chroniques du pais de Vaulx*," gives us a specimen, that about that period, namely, in the time of bishop Aymon, 1356 to 1375, "*Un porc, qui avait tué un enfant à Chatillens près d'Oron, fut traduit en jugement à Lausanne et condamné comme meurtrier; le sautier de la ville reçut ordre de faire pendre cet animal au gibet.*"

The governor had the guardianship of the keys of the city, as exemplified when Charles II., Duke of Savoy, came to Lausanne in 1532. The burgomaster Louis de Seigneux presented him the keys with these words: "*Je vous remets les clefs de notre ville, non point pour y dominer, mais, afin que vous y dormiez en pleine sécurité.*"

The chronicles of the Pays de Vaud relate, that the irritating conduct of the clergy prepared the people to favour the Reformation. It appears that the clergy of Lausanne

¹⁴ Allusion is made somewhere, that this word is derived from the Celtic *plaid*, *pleydd*, which signifies to take part, to side with one; the Welsh *pleidiwr*, a partisan; *Cyrl-blaid*, a confederate. The word *plaid* is found on the earliest French monuments, at a time when none of the Latin consonants were lost, and where it would certainly have been written *plaict*, if it had been immediately derived from *placitum*.

were so ignorant, that when, in 1527 (November 27th), the Bernese demanded of bishop Sebastian de Montfaucon, to send them some of the most learned dignitaries, to assist at the conference about to take place at Berne, on matters of reformation, they concluded their application with these energetic words : "*Haec boni consulite, hisque locum date, quum Paternitatis vestrae officium sit, non solum tondere, verum etiam Christi oves pacere.*" Which may be translated thus : "Consider this well, and grant this our petition, since it is your fatherly duty not to shear only, but also to pasture the sheep of Christ." The bishop Sebastian answered, "*Qu'il n'avait pas de gens assez instruits dans l'Ecriture Sainte pour une affaire aussi importante que l'examen de la religion.*"¹⁵ But none of the monks of the Burgundian or "Romant" part of Switzerland, distinguished themselves for their learning; and Berenger, of Tours, called that country the modern Bœotia. It was, at that time, a vast forest, inhabited only within the immediate range of those castles and mountains, which were thinly scattered over its surface.

The progress of the Reformation, which increased more and more at Lausanne, made the bishop indignant against the inhabitants. In 1533, the people complained most bitterly against Sebastian de Montfaucon, and among the many grievances, more or less severe, which were brought forward against him, was, in particular, the following threat pronounced by the bishop against the inhabitants. "*Je ferai tant, que vous et vos enfans, en pleureront sur vos genoux avec des larmes de sang.*"¹⁶

The fear of such a menace, disposed the inhabitants of Lausanne to throw themselves, in 1535, into the arms of the

¹⁵ Levade, p. 171.

¹⁶ Ruchat (A.), *Abregé de l'Histoire Ecclesiastique du Pays de Vaud*. Berne, 1707, 8vo. p. 100.

Bernese, with whom they were already allies since 1525, as likewise with those of Freyburg. This treaty was concluded at Berne, on the 25th of December, 1535, for the term of 25 years, notwithstanding all the efforts of the bishop to prevent it.

In the beginning of the year 1536, the Bernese entered the Pays de Vaud; the bishop, however, was respected and not molested, until it was found out that he intended by intrigue to place the country in the hands of the Duke of Savoy.¹⁷ This was proved by the following intercepted letter which the bishop had written to his bailiff at Vevey,¹⁸ Monsieur Curtilliers wherein he gave him orders to raise a levy of men in the country of Lavaux.

*Letter of Sebastian de Montfalcon, Bishop of Lausanne, to Monsieur de Curtilliers, his Bailiff at Vevey, in the year 1536.*¹⁹

Monsieur le Baillif, je vous veulx bien advertir comme aujourd'hui suis arrivé ici,²⁰ pour venir veoir mes subgets, et pour les faire mettre en l'ordre, tant pour la manutention de la foy, que de monseigneur et pais, et a ce soër ay ben nouvelles comme le capitaine Colloneys est arrivé à Morgé avec une belle bande d'italiens bien en ordre, et a mandé partout dellà le lac pour avoir gens, pour aller audevant de ceulx de Berne, pour leur donner la bataille, si me semble que nous devons tous ayder, aller là où sera le grand flot, car si d'aventure nous perdions, que Dieu ne veuille, le pays, les villes ne serient pas puis après pour nous résister, et ne faut point faire comme les Romains firent, quand

¹⁷ On surprit de ses lettres qui marquoient l'intelligence qu'il entretenoit avec les ennemis de ce canton. See Watteville, Hist. de la Confédération Helvet., Yverdon, 1768, p. 170.

¹⁸ In 1222, a part of Vevey belonged to the Seigneurs de Bloney, who sold it to William d'Escublens, Bishop of Lausanne. The rest of the town belonged to the Duke of Savoy.

¹⁹ Levade, Dictionnaire Géographique, Statistique et Historique du Canton de Vaud. Lausanne, 1824, p. 404.

²⁰ At his chateau of Glérolle, situated on the borders of the lake near St. Saphorin, between Lausanne and Vevey; it is one of the most ancient castles in that part of the country. By various objects of Roman antiquities, and coins found there, one may conclude that it was a place of some consequence.

feu M. de Borbon print Rome, car chescun se voloÿt garder son pallays qui fût cause de leur ruyne, et de ce ay bien voulsu advertir, afin, si bon vous semble le communiquer à M. M. de Vivey et aux lieux circonvoisins; et de mon cousté ne restera point que je ne fasse mon debvoir. Si vous avez quelques nouvelles, je vous prie de m'en advertier. Faisant fin à ma lettre, après m'estre recommandé à vous de bon cœur, et prié nostre Seigneur de vous donner ce que vous désirez.

à Glérole, ce 25 jour Janvyer.

le bien vostre,

l'Evesque de Lausanne.

The bishop, at the same time, having returned to Lausanne, sent a messenger to Captain Colloneys, who was at Morges, to let him know of the departure of the auxiliaries from Lausanne, which would facilitate an attempt upon that town; however, those of Lausanne obtaining information, demanded help of the burghers of the neighbouring towns of Lutry, Vilette, and of St. Saphorin; a favourable answer came, and almost as quick a company of well armed citizens, who uniting themselves under the wild blazon of the bear, prevented the invasion which the bishop had projected.

In those days, as well as in earlier times, the bishops themselves exchanged the mitre for a helmet, and went to war, as we have it in the well known story of Philip, Bishop of Beauvais, who was taken prisoner in battle by Richard I., King of England, in 1196. The Pope having claimed him as a son of the church, Richard sent to his holiness the bishop's sword and armour, with the words of Scripture, "See if this is the coat of thy son." In the famous battle of Laupen,²¹ 21st of July, 1339, three bishops were engaged in the fight; one was the Bishop of Lausanne, the others were the Bishops of Basle and Lyons. At the battle of Mohaz, 1526, the Bishop of Buda was slain. However, one of the greatest warrior bishops, was he of Sion, Matthew Schiner, at the sanguinary battle of Marignano, 13th—14th

²¹ It was at this memorable battle, that Louis of Savoy, Lord of the Pays de Vaud, lost his only son.

September, 1515. Even as late as 1690, Walker, Bishop of Derry, was killed at the battle of the Boyne. But to return to our Sebastian de Montfaucon, who preferred running away to fighting: as soon as he perceived that his letter to Curtilliers, bailiff of Vevey, had been intercepted by the Bernese, and that the consequences must inevitably effect his ruin, he evacuated the castle of Lausanne, during the night of the 22nd to 23rd of March, 1536, and retired to Friburg.

On the most elevated part of Lausanne is situated the castle, which was commenced by Bishop Jean de Cossonay in 1255; however, the castle was built upon a more ancient one (Dun), because we find that in the year A.D. 892, Rudolph II., King of Burgundy resided for a time at "Castrum Lausanense." It was finished by Bishop Guillaume de Challand, in 1425, bearing the name of Chateau de St. Maire, on account of a neighbouring old church of that name dedicated to the first bishop and patron, Saint *Marius*, who is represented on our coin. The castle, which now bears the name of Maison Cantonal, was the residence of the prelates until the conquest of the Pays de Vaud by the Bernese.

During the fifteenth century, it contained the Mint. In 1368, the Mint is mentioned to have been in the Rue de Bourg. "Le seigneur Evêque ne peut battre ou faire battre monnoie sans le consentement des trois ordres (the chapter, the nobility, and the townsmen); c'est toujours dans la Rue de Bourg que le battra la monnoie de Lausanne."²² There was a chamber in the castle, called

²² Statuts de l'Evêché, 1368. We may here observe, that in the year 1209, Roger, bishop of Lausanne, had given as a feudal privilege, to Ulrich III., Count of Neuchâtel, the right of striking coins. This concession was afterwards disputed by the states of the bishoprick, and was bought back in 1225 by the bishop Guillaume d'Ecublens. However, later in 1347, the Emperor Charles IV., accorded the right of the Mint to Count Louis.

l'Evêque, and which contained a sort of an antique shrine, or rather large chair, apparently immoveable, turning, however, upon hinges, and concealing a small door, which conducted to a secret staircase, communicating with a subterranean passage, which had its issue outside the town. It was by this door, that Sebastian de Montfaucon escaped during the siege of the castle by the Bernese.

On the 29th of March, the Bernese likewise took Chateau de Chillon, after a valiant defence by the Savoyard garrison. The citizens of Geneva had also sent some large boats, with artillery and troops, to lay siege to the Chateau by water, to assist in the deliverance of their eminent citizen, Bonnivard, Prior of St. Victor, who had been kept prisoner at Chillon²³ for six years and six months, by the Duke of Savoy.

All the country, from Morat to Geneva, was conquered in eleven days, and with only 7,000 men; and in less than three months, a great part of the Pays de Vaud, the Barony of Gex, and part of Chablais.

The Bernese forthwith took possession of all the estates belonging to the bishop (1st April, 1536), on account of his having made common cause with the Duke of Savoy, against whom the Bernese had lately (16th January, 1536) declared war, in consequence of the Duke's infraction of the treaty of St. Julien (1st October, 1530).

In 1537, a college or academy was founded at Lausanne, and endowed from the sequestration of the convents.

Since the seventh century, Lausanne was, indeed, a rich Episcopal See, and numbered in 1520, in the diocess, not less than 7 Chapters of Collegiate Churches, 9 Abbeys, 25 Priories, 7 Rectories (Rectorats d'Hospices), and 299 Cura-

²³ In 1218, we find the names Zillium and Gillum; and in 1236, Castrum Chilione.

torships. Lausanne was then governed by an officer from Berne, till 1798, when it fell into the hands of the French, who made it the capital of the department of the *Leman*.

It is somewhat curious, that the obverse of our coin shews the portrait of the last bishop of Lausanne, while the reverse exhibits to us the figure of its first bishop, namely, St. Marius. And here it is a pleasure to me to be able to give some satisfactory account of the life of this venerable and worthy man. I must again observe, that exactly the same design (but of course with different names) of the seated figure of St. Marius on our coin prevails, and is represented on the testoons of Ludovico Fiesco, 1517 — 1530, and on some of Pietro Luca Fiesco, 1532 — 1575, as well as on a testoon of Bartolomeo Tizzoni, Count of Desana, 1525 — 1535; and as it also happens that the period, as well as the workmanship of all those coins corresponds, I am convinced that the dies for all the four coins in question, were made by one and the same artist.

On the coins of the Fieschi, St. Theonestus is represented by the artist as a martyr;²⁴ and the like has been done with St. Theodorus, on a testoon of Desana,²⁵ as well as with St. Marius on our testoon of Lausanne. This last circumstance is, however, too important for the illustration of the coin, which we now publish for the first time, to pass over; because the legend, S. MARIVS MARTIRIS., as well as his holding in the left hand a palm branch,²⁶ cannot be correct,

²⁴ Vittorio, *Il Fiorino d'oro*. Firenze, 1738, 4to., p. 263, fig. 1, 2.

²⁵ Gazzera *Mem. Stor. dei Tizzoni, Conti di Desana*. Torino, 1842, 4to., pl. ii., fig. 6.

²⁶ Since very remote times, the palm branch was always represented as a symbol of triumph; and upon the oldest Christian works of art, we find the palm branch generally represented as a symbol of martyrdom, which we have also so often observed on the tombs of Christian martyrs in the catacombs of Rome and

as Marius died in peace at Lausanne, on the 31st of December, A.D. 601 (on which day his festival was kept), at the age of sixty-four, and in the twenty-first year of his episcopate. For his exemplary life, he was placed among the number of saints. Cuno d'Estavayé, the registrar of the Chartulary of Lausanne, A.D. 1235, speaking of Marius, says: "*Nobilis genere, sed nobilior moribus.*" Not only had he been considered, in later days, as the best and most zealous of all those men who sat on the episcopal chair of Lausanne, but, perhaps, even of all Switzerland. Soon after, his body was deposited in a little church which stood near the old castle, and had previously the name of St. Thyrsi (Thyrus, martyr, who suffered under Decius, at Nicea), but afterwards was called St. Maire in respect to his memory. "In Ecclesia Beati Marii que quodam dicebatur Beati Thyrsii." (Chart. Lausanne)

The cathedral of Notre Dame was founded by Bishop Henry, Count of Lenzburg, about A.D. 1044. In 1274, the Emperor Rudolph I., of Hapsburg, consecrated in person the restored cathedral.

Marius was a native of Autun, of a noble family, and in some degree related to the royal house of Burgundy.

At a synod, held at Macon (Consilium Matisconense), in A.D. 581, he was created bishop of Aventicum²⁷ (Pagus

Naples. Even as late as the fifteenth century, the dead were represented on tombstones holding palm branches in their hands, to indicate the victory which they had obtained. The branch of a palm tree was called *Bai* in Egypt; and as the palm tree was supposed to be immortal, or, at least, if it did die, to revive and enjoy a second life, the Egyptians gave the name of *Bai* to the soul.

²⁷ The Rev. F. C. Husenbeth, in his *Ikonographie* (Emblems of Saints), London, 1850, p. 94, has mentioned a St. Marius as the hermit.

Aventicensis). He was then about the age of forty-three. At a second synod, also held at Macon, in A.D. 585, by Gontram, King of Burgundy and Orleans, 561—593, Marius also assisted, and subscribed himself as “*Episcopus Aventicorum.*”

It may be observed, that at that period, the kingdom of Burgundy extended itself from the Loire, as far as Sedunum in the Valais; and from the Rhone (Avignon) to the sources of the Maas, and the Moselle.

The Burgundians had already obtained, in the last year of Honorius, A.D. 423, a permanent seat and dominion in the province of Gaul. The continual devastation of the Burgundians, and other hordes of barbarians about the nearly ruined city of Aventicum, made it a dangerous residence for the bishop. A poet of old laments thus over the fall of that once splendid metropolis:—

“*Quæ caput Helvetiæ fueram jam nominis umbra
Magni, reliquias vix traho parva meas.*”

King Gontram, being well aware of the merit, the zeal and importance of such a man as Marius, gave positive order, in A.D. 590, that he should transfer the episcopal see from Aventicum, which was situated in a plain, to the more secure elevated situation of Lausodunum. It may here be observed, that the old name of the former *Lausona*, situated in the plain of Vidy, appears to have been adopted instead of that of *Lausodunum*, as is proved by the golden *Tremissi* of *Lausanne* of that period, and by somewhat later documents, namely, the act of the foundation of the Abbey at *Payerne*, which the Burgundian queen *Bertha* finished. It is called “*Actum vero Lausona civitate.*” The episcopal chair of *Augusta Rauracorum* (*Augst. Episcopi Rauracorum*) was likewise transferred from its smoking ruins to

Basle, A.D. 451, and also that of Octodurum (Martigny) to Sion,²⁸ and that of Vindonissa²⁹ (Windisch) to Constance.

Marius, as we have seen, was held in great respect by King Gontram, who, on the Bishop's solicitation, gave many valuable donations to the church of Lausanne, and also founded at Geneva the Church of St. Peter, on the ruins of a temple of Apollo. Gontram died at Chalons on the 28th of March, 593. Chalons was at that time the capital of the kingdom of Burgundy, which comprised Autun, Mâcon, Avench, Lausanne, Sion and Geneva.

I may here mention, that when that eminent Irish preacher of Christianity, St. Columbanus, arrived in Switzerland, he came to the court of Gontram. The King earnestly desired to retain him, but, refusing all overtures of wealth and ease, he went towards Besuntium (Besançon), in which neighbourhood he founded, in A.D. 589, the Abbey of Luxevil, which he governed for 20 years.

In A.D. 610—612, we find St. Columbanus and St. Gallus, his disciple, in the neighbourhood of Zurich. In A.D. 614, St. Gallus founded the famous Abbey of St. Gall. It appears also, that Gontram had given previously to Marius himself large estates, near, or at, the ruins of Paterniacum, an ancient town situated on the small river Broye, a few miles from Aventicum. This estate he often visited; and even sometimes cultivated it himself, and, at other leisure hours in winter, he fabricated, with his own hand, sacrificial vessels. "*Ecclesiæ ornatus vasi fabricando sacratis. Et manibus*

²⁸ This may have happened later in A.D. 580, when the greatest part of the town of Octodurum was destroyed by the slip of a mountain.

²⁹ About Vindossa, Eusebius, who died in A.D. 340, narrates in a passage, "What shall I recite of the fields near Vindossa, covered over with the bodies of the enemy, and still white with their bones?"

propriis prædia justa colens." (Mentioned on his epitaph. Chron. Chartul. Lausann.)

Other examples might be given, how the bishops in those days, travelled out of the special duties of their office. For instance, St. Piranus, born A.D. 352, of noble parents, in the county of Ossory in Ireland, having been ordained Bishop at Rome, fixed his abode among a simple people in the west of Cornwall, and passed a long and exemplary life. In the fulfilment of his sacred calling, he was equally zealous in instructing his parishioners in the useful arts, and especially in the working of metals. The Cornish miners venerate the name of Piranus. From him was named a very curious church, now in ruins in Cornwall, called Perranzabuloe, that is, St. Pieran in the sand (*Sanctus Piranus in Sabulo.*) Also in the life of St. Hilary, we observe, that from the time he rose, any one who wished to see him was received. He performed the office of a justice of peace, and afterwards repaired to the church and performed service; he also performed manual labours, sometimes spinning for the poor, sometimes cultivating the fields of his church. Thus passed his day, in the midst of his people, in grave and useful occupation of public interest. This it appears was often the life of a bishop in the fifth century.³⁰ At a later period, as we have seen, many bishops took a fancy for fighting.

Marius must be considered as the founder of the present town of Payerne, A.D. 595, having first built a church there in honour of the blessed Virgin ("*Templum et Villa in proprio patrimonio edificavit.*" Chron. Chartularii Lausann.) The consecration of that church took place on the 24th of June, A.D. 584. Some antiquarians were of opinion that the name of Paterniacum, which was still so written during

³⁰ Vide M. Guizot's History of Civilization.

the middle ages, alluded to the fact that Marius had built that town on his proper inheritance. Others preferred the name of a distinguished Roman family, the Paternii, of whom many inscriptions had been found in Western Switzerland. That name was also known at Aventicum, an inscription records a Graggius Paternus, Curator Coloniae (Aventicum).

However, the termination in *ac* in the ancient name of Payerne, appears to me to allude to a Celtic origin. The place had been known to the Romans, and there had been, or is still to be seen, an inscription on the bridge over the Broye, dedicated to Jupiter³¹ (Zeus Pater), the genius of the place, and to the goddess who gives favourable returns (Fortuna redux). It appears that towards the end of the tenth century, the present town of Payerne was at its highest point as a prosperous and thriving and even fashionable town. Bertha, the dowager queen of Burgundy,³² considered as one of the brightest examples of domestic virtue on a throne, resided at Payerne, where she enlarged and enriched the church built by Marius. On documents signed by her, the seals bear the inscription "Bertha humilis Regina," A.D. 961. She built there an abbey from the neighbouring ruins of Aventicum, and endowed it with lands and vassals. The name of the first abbot was Majolus. Even to this day, there is still a saying at Payerne, which alludes to that excellent queen whose distaff became proverbial, "ce n'est plus le temps ou Berthe filait." When, in 1817, the sarcophagus which enclosed the ashes of Queen Bertha, was discovered in the dilapi-

³¹ Bochat, vol. ii., p. 438,

³² Bertha was a daughter of the Duke of Suabia, and widow of King Rudolph II., who died in A.D. 937, 13th of July, and was buried at the monastery of St. Maurice.

dated abbey at Payerne, the Conseil d'Etat, of the Canton de Vaud, had it honourably placed in the parish church of Payerne, with an inscription, composed by the dean, M. Bridel. Payerne continued more or less prosperous, until, as it appears, towards the end of the fourteenth century. But, alas! now-a-days, instead of spreading out into the country, the country enters into the town. In fact, it seems to be, like Avenches, a dying town. "Une ville qui meurt! chose triste et solennelle! Les rues se défont. Où il y avait une rangée de maisons, il n'y a plus qu'une muraille; où il y avait une muraille, il n'y a plus rien. L'herbe remplace le pavé. La vie se retire vers le centre, vers le coeur, comme dans l'homme agonisant. Ce sont les extrémités qui meurent les premières, les membres chez l'homme, les faubourgs dans les villes. Les endroits habités perdent les étages. Les églises s'effondrent, se déforment et s'en vont en poussière, non faute de croyances, comme dans nos fourmillières industrielles, mais faute de croyants. Des quartiers tout entiers tombent en ruine. Il est presque étrange d'y passer; des espèces de peuplades sauvages s'y installent. Ici ce n'est plus la ville qui se répand dans la campagne, c'est la campagne qui rentre dans la ville. On défriche la rue, on cultive le carrefour, on laboure le seuil des maisons; l'ornière profonde des chariots à fumier creuse et bouleverse les anciens dallages; les pluies font des mares devant les portes; le caquetage discordant des basses-cours remplace les rumeurs de la foule. D'une place réservée aux cérémonies impériales³³ on fait un carré de laitues.

"L'église devient une grange, le palais devient une

³³ A.D. 1033. Imperator Conradus cum filio suo Henrico veniens ad Paterniacum, etc. Bochat, Mem. Crit. de la Suisse, ii., p. 267.

ferme,³⁴ la tour devient un pigeonnier, la maison devient

³⁴ From one of these farms, which appears to have been the house or palace of the governor of Berne, I obtained a very fine panel of glass-painting, dated 1575. It represents three different coats of arms. On the upper division, to the right, over the first coat of arms, appears Diana (rather a fat one), we will say the Hyberborean (Diana Taurica) bathing, and attended by two other females: one of them seems to be frightened (of Acteon). Bees are seen flying over the figure of Diana. On the left division, appears Acteon, as usual, *cornuto*, and accompanied by two greyhounds. The device is EX VIRTUTE HONOS. Under the first coat of arms, is inscribed JEORG MARCVARD GENERAL COMMISSARY DES NVNTH GEWVNNEN LANDS DER STADT BER; George Marcquard, General-commissary of the ninth division of the conquered country by the town of Berne. N.B.—The entire country of the Canton de Vaud, was conquered by the Bernese in 1536.

On each of the two lower divisions, are seen two cherubim, on the back of an eagle. The two other coats of arms are probably those of a first and a second wife of George Marcquard. The one to the left is placed under Acteon, and bears the name of MARJA MADERIN. The other, to the right, has the name of ELISABHET ZUR KINDENN, probably the second wife, and placed, of course, under the division which represents the chaste Diana. Both symbols of the arms allude to the names, as *type parlante*.

Considering the representation of bees over the figure of Diana, we may here with pleasure allude to the reflective mind, either of the artist who designed that division, or of him who gave the order. With respect to the bee: this pure and remarkable insect is an attribute of Diana. We find it near the head of Diana on the coins of Naples; and, in reference to the same idea, it appears near the corn-ear on the coins of Metapontum. In the innocent state of the heathen paradise, the first men lived upon honey; hence, first nourishment, and purity of divine service, were the old ideas symbolised by the bee, and hence priestesses were called *melisses*, *μελισσαι*, to remind them of their purity or sanctity. And, therefore, Pindar (Pythian Games, iv., 106), calls the Pythian priestess, "the Bee of Delphos." And so the bee became by the ancients selected as a symbol of the most important conditions of life. The bee appears also as a symbol of a colony;—see coins of Corinth and Ephesus, etc.

Having received a letter of invitation from the Secretary of the Manchester Exhibition, for the contribution of any objects which might be thought worthy of exhibition, I sent this glass-painting, with two others, and likewise three ancient German jars of the sixteenth century.

une baraque, la boutique devient une échoppe, le bassin devient un étang, le citadin devient un paysan ; la cité est morte. Partout la solitude, l'ennui, la poussière, la ruine, l'oubli. Partout sur les places désertes, sur les passants enveloppés et mornes, sur les visages tristes, sur les pans de murs écroulés, sur les maisons basses, muettes et rares, l'oeil de la pensée croit voir se projeter les longues et mélancoliques ombres d'un soleil couchant."

Returning again to St. Marius, we may state, that the greatest part of his life was spent in useful pursuits, and in benevolence. He wrote also a very valuable chronicle, from the time of the Western Emperor Avitus, which he commenced in A.D. 455, and continued up to September, 581. It contains the principal events of that period, and preserves many facts which one may in vain look for any where else, in particular with regard to important events of the history of Burgundy. In Chron. II., pp. 188, 189, he gives the principal facts of the life of King Sigismund, and the conquest of Burgundy. Indeed, some French writers distinguish him by the term of "Un des plus anciens chroniqueurs de France qui sont parvenu jusqu'à nous." ³⁵

Marius having been also bishop of Aventicum, we might perhaps, say more of that important Romano-Helvetic colony (Aventicum Helvetiorum Foederata). Tacitus is the first who speaks of that city (Hist. I., c. 68), calling it "Gentis caput"; and, according to many inscriptions still extant, we may collect, that during the auspicious reign of Augustus, this country enjoyed much prosperity, which, under his profligate successors, was soon converted into a most degrading state of servitude. Aventicum was one of

³⁵ Dom. Rivet. Hist. Litter. de France, vol. iii., p. 400. Paris, 1735. 4to.

those towns which Cæsar obliged the Helvetii, after he had beaten them in Gaul, to rebuild.

It appears, that when Vitellius was elected emperor by the legions at Cologne, the death of Galba, assassinated at Rome, A.D. 70, was not yet known at Aventicum (Helvetii de cæde Galba abnuentes, Tacit. I., c. 67). It also appears, that Otho's brief occupation of the throne, was hardly known in Helvetia. No monument of him has yet been discovered there. Therefore, when Vitellius assumed the purple, the XXI. Legion³⁶ (Rapax) stationed at Vindonissa, took offence at the loyalty which the Helvetians had maintained in favour of Galba, and being joined by the Thracian and other Legions, and headed by Allienus (Aulus) Cæcinna, one of the generals of Vitellius, a man of great audacity and unexampled cruelty, ravaged the country with fire and sword from Baden (Respublica Aquensis), which they demolished, up to Aventicum, which surrendered.

Wer die Dörfer ansteckt, sei verflucht!
Ob es Allobrogen oder Römer.
Ob es Christen waren oder Heiden,
Daß sie Gottes ärgster Fluch betreffe,
Oder auch des Teufels bester Segen.

VOLKSLIEDER, der Aventici.

However, Julius Alpinus,³⁷ the chief magistrate, known

³⁶ An interesting account about this legion, is given by Dr. Heinrich Meyer, of Zürich, in a treaty on the XI. and XXI. Legion. "Geschichte der XI. and XXI. Legion." Zürich, 1853. I may observe, that Dr. H. Meyer has also lately written a volume on the works of art and antiquities in the British Museum, in which the reader will find many learned remarks on the so far-famed marbles of the Parthenon. We hope that this work, "Ein Besuch im brittischen Museum in Briefen, von Dr. H. Meyer: Zürich, 1855," will, some day or other, be translated into English.

³⁷ Names of noble and distinguished leaders of the Helvetians, who were sent by their nation at various times during the Gallic war as ambassadors to Cæsar, we have in Orgetorix, Numejus, Verodoktius and Divico.

as a friend of Galba, was demanded for instant execution, as a traitor, by Aulus Cæcinna,³⁸ A.D. 70. Tacitus thus relates this historical fact; "In Julium Alpinum, ut concitorem belli, Cæcinna animadvertit ceteros sævitæ vel veniæ Vitelli reliquit." (Hist. I., 68.) No remonstrance could avail, not even the eloquence and tears of his daughter, Julia Alpinula, who was a priestess of the tutelar deity of the town, Dea Aventia,³⁹ could save the unfortunate father.

Her sepulchral inscription, found at Aventicum, expresses in pathetic language the sorrow which seems to have abridged the days of the unhappy priestess.

IVLIA ALPINVLA HIC
IACEO
INFELICIS PATRIS IN
FELIX PROLES
DEAE AVENT. SACERD.
EXORARE PATRIS NE
CEM NON POTVI
MALE MORI IN FATIS
ILLI ERAT
VIXI ANNOS XXIII.

³⁸ This Roman general was of a noble Etruscan family of Volaterra. It is curious, that Cicero made a speech to obtain the citizenship for one of a similar name, Aulus Cæcinna, whom he mentioned in his speech as the noblest of all the Etruscans.

³⁹ The ancients often established a religious worship in honour of cities, similar to the personification of Rome, "Dea Roma," early in the second century B.C. (Tacit. Ann. iv. 56. Livius xi. 3.) Of Autun we have "Dea Bibracta," of Nismes, "Deus Nemausus," and so "Dea Aventia." It is curious, that the town of Losdunum (Juliadunum), Dept. Vienne, has been personified into a patron saint, that of St. Loudon. Bochat, ii., p. 497, gives an interesting inscription referring to an offering made by a distinguished citizen of Aventicum, to the Deity Aventia, and which M. Bochat reads (p. 506) "Dea Aventiæ Titus Tertius Severus, Curator Colonie idemque Allectus; cui (Aventiæ) Incolæ Aventicenses, primi omnium, ob ejus erga se merita Tabulam argenteam Pondo quinquaginta (Librarum) posue-

"Here I lie, Julia Alpinula, unhappy daughter of an unhappy father. Priestess of the goddess Aventia. My father's fate I could not avert, a miserable end was predestined to him. I lived twenty-three years." But the inscription in question, unfortunately is no longer to be found, like so many others which have been published and in time destroyed, or employed for common building materials, or carried to other places. Levade, in his *Dictionnaire Géographique, Stat. et Hist., du Canton de Vaud, Lausanne, 1824*, observes that this inscribed slab was carried to England; "*Cette epitaphe a été transportée en Angleterre,*" p. 21. If so, perhaps some antiquarian may discover it again, as Mr. George Scharf, an excellent antiquarian and artist, discovered, in 1852, at Marbury Hall in Cheshire, the residence of James Smith Burry, Esq., a fragment of great interest of the Parthenon frieze. And upon the artist naming to Mr. S. Burry its connection with the Elgin marbles, that gentleman generously presented it to the British Museum, where it now exactly fills a gap that long existed in the northern frieze.

This inscription was published by the erudite Gruter, in 1602, after Lipsius; and so in time it appeared in other works. I. C. Orellius, *Ins. Rom. Ant.*, vol. i., p. 123, Turici 1828, gives several inscriptions alluding to Aventicum; he gave this one also, but considered it a forgery (*spuria*), and says that Lipsius, who was the first to publish it, about the end of the sixteenth century, had the inscription from a person of the name of Paulo Gulielmo, but as it had not been seen by any one afterwards, Orellius and others con-

runt. *Donum de sua pecunia ex Sesterciis Septingentis, Locus datus decreto Decurionum.*" Of priests of Aventicum, Bochat, ii., pp. 493—494, gives also several inscriptions. One of a Lucius Camillus, who died at the age of 92.

sidered it, without doubt, a composition of that knave (a fraudulent homine) out of Tacitus, Hist. i. 68, as has already been seen by Ryckius ad Tacit. Ann. iii, 23, etc.

Far be it from me to pretend to possess the ability to argue with those distinguished archæologists of our days, who disbelieve in the genuineness of this inscription. I only permit myself to observe, that, in my humble opinion, there is not ground enough given by them, in fact none at all, to prove that the inscription is a forgery. I have shown it to several good latin scholars, and no fault is found with its composition. And why may not the very historical fact related by Tacitus, tell as well for the genuineness of the inscription, as against it? In fact, the inscription is not important, there is nothing about it extraordinary or *recherché*; it merely gives us, in a very pathetic but simple way, to understand, that the young priestess, pierced with sorrow at the death of her unfortunate father, having in vain urgently solicited his life, could not survive such severe anguish; that she died at the age of twenty-three years, and that she herself, or her relations, wished that her epitaph should express her tenderness for her father.

With regard to those words in the inscription, "*male mori in Fatis illi erat*," we may observe, that it was believed by the Pagans, that no one could avoid the career of fate which destiny had fixed, and that the gods themselves could not annul or change it. So of Juno in the *Æneid*.

"Hoc regnum dea gentibus esse
Si qua fata sinant."

It is also to that fatality to which the Mahometans submit themselves with an entire resignation; and thence the common exclamation, "From that which is written there is no escape." Referring to the name of *Alpinula* in our inscription, it may be further observed, that women

used to adopt the diminutive of the name of their father (Albinus) as a surname. Fabretti has given several examples (Inscript. Antic. p. 172.)

It appears, moreover, that the family Alpinia must have been distinguished not only in Aventicum, but also in other places of Switzerland, according to inscriptions. One found at Baden (Aquae Helveticae), near Zürich, relates that a certain L. A. Magianus and his wife, Alpinia Alpinula, furnished the money to supply the ornaments of a temple of Isis, that stood at Baden.⁴⁰

DEAE ISIDI TEMPLVM A SOLO
L. ANNVSIVS MAGIANVS
VIR AGVENSIS DE SVO POSVIT
AD CIVIVS TEMPLI ORNAMENTA
ALPINIA ALPINVLA CONIVNX.
ET PEREGRINA FIL X·C·DEDE
RVNT. L. D. D. VICANORVM.

It may be observed, that about 150 years ago, when the Rev. Dr. Wild, of Avenche, wrote his "*Apologie pour la vieille cité d'Avenche en Suisse*," published at Berne in 1710, a M. Cuper, a friend of Dr. Wild, did merely mention in a letter⁴¹ to that meritorious archæologist and historian of his native town, that something like suspicion rises up in his mind, as to the genuineness of that inscription of Julia Alpinula. His words are "*Nescio quid subdoli mihi oritur*," and that is all. But it does not appear that Dr. Wild agreed with the opinion of M. Cuper. Bochat, in his *Mem. Crit.*, mentions also the allusion of M. Cuper to that inscription in the letter to Dr. Wild, but without dis-

⁴⁰ Bochat, vol. ii., pp. 374—402. He relates also, that on the 22nd of August, 1683, there were found at Wettingen, near Baden, sacred vessels, all of silver, the ornaments on which allude to the worship of Mithras, so prevalent in Switzerland under the Empire, like that of Osiris, and still more of Isis.

⁴¹ Published in the *Museum Helvet.*, part i., p. 52.

cussing it. And so nothing more was thought about its genuineness for almost a century, until, (as it appears to me), Lord Byron alluded to the beauty of that inscription with enthusiasm, in his *Childe Harold*. And now, from that time, it seems that the doubt as to the genuineness of the inscription is to revive again. It was declared decidedly a forgery, by several distinguished archæologists. The last allusions made to it, I observe in the "*Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthums Freunden im Rheinlande*," year X., Bonn, 1852; and in the "*Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich*," vol. x., p. 112, Zürich, 1854.

Be it as it may, the distinguished historian, Johannes von Müller, believed in its genuineness, and so did one of the brightest geniuses of our days — the pride of his country — Byron.⁴² Also Levade (*Dict. Geogr. et Statistique du Canton de Vaud*), from whom I copied it, does not allude to any doubt of the inscription not being genuine. But let us yet compare a few recent discoveries of epitaphs, published in the Supplement of the fifteenth volume of the Imperial "*Akademie der Wissenschaften*," at Vienna, 1855, pp. 251 — 252; and which, in their pathetic composition, though somewhat incorrect in the prosody of the verses, and questionable in grammar, might be put in comparison with that of Julia Alpinula. The one is in fifteen lines, stating that the stone was erected by a girl of the name of

⁴² Byron was, however, not the first who alluded to the said epitaph in poetry. I have met with these beautiful lines, written before his time, and signed Bridel.

"Ci git dans son printemps la fille d'Alpinus :
 Pour te sauver mes vœux ont été superflus.
 O mon père ! et je cours à ta voix qui m'appelle
 Te suivre et te rejoindre en la nuit éternelle :
 Je n'ai pu du destin désarmer les rigueurs :
 Ton sort a fait le mien, tu péris..... et je meurs."

Fabricia Marcilla, daughter of one L. Fabricius, a retired soldier (*miles evocatus*), to her dear mother, Veiana Hospita, who died at the age of forty-five; and likewise of a brother, who fell in battle, twenty-eight years of age. The personal indications (names of the persons) are above the verses, of which, unfortunately, only four lines are preserved.

FELIX.TERRA.PRECOR.LEVITER.SUPER.OSSA.RESIDAS.
MATRIS.ET.FRATRIS.COMPRECOR.ECCE.SOROR.
PARS.IACET.IPSA.MEI.MATER.GEMINATQVE.DOLOREM.

(CO)MPRECOR.VT.VOBIS.SIT.PIA.TERRA.LEVIS.

Blessed earth, I, as a sister, pray, rest lightly on my mother's and my brother's bones.

My mother, a very part of myself, lies buried there, and doubles all my grief.

I pray that the pious earth may lie lightly on you both.

The other one was found in 1852, at the Villa Codini, within Porta S. Sebastiano, at Rome, in a Columbarium, and was copied at the same time by the Austrian councillor, the Chevalier de Heufler, and sent to the Academy at Vienna. The inscription is in the possession of Signor Pietro Cerasi, at Rome. It refers to a woman who had lost her brother, her husband, and an infant son. She challenges any one who might be mourning, to a comparison with grief like hers. Here the names of the persons follow the verses.

CONIVGE.SI.QVA.CARET.FRATREMQVE.MISERRIMA.
SI.QVA.

FLET.RAPTVM.ET.NATVM.PERDIDIT.A.GREMIO
HVNC.TITVLVM.ASPICIAT.FVNVS.NON.QVAERET.IN.
ISTO.

QVO.DOLET.ET.FLEBIT.TOT.MEA.DAMNA.MAGIS.

If any one has lost her husband, and if any most unhappy being is weeping for her brother, taken from her, and has lost the child of her bosom, let her behold this inscription; she will not seek a monument for him whom she laments; she will rather weep for my many losses.

Lord Byron, speaking of that inscription of Avenches, says, "I know of no human composition so affecting as this, nor a history of deeper interest." Now, in my humble judgment, I often fancied, that those few lines in prose were enough to reconcile the most ardent enemies of the great poet; and if not, let them wish in vain, "but for one hour of Byron."⁴³

Nearly eighteen centuries have passed away, since the origin of this tale has been again so beautifully alluded to.

Oh! sweet and sacred be the name!
 Julia, the daughter, the devoted, gave
 Her youth to heaven; her heart, beneath a claim
 Nearest to heaven's, broke o'er a father's grave.
 Justice is sworn against tears, and hers would crave
 The life she lived in; but the judge was just,⁴⁴
 And then she died on him she could not save.
 Their tomb was simple, and without a bust,
 And held within their urn, one mind, one heart, one dust.

Of Byron, sometimes mention is made as to his being an enthusiast,⁴⁵ and whimsical,⁴⁶ alluding to his having imitated Leander.

Well, Byron verified, in 1810, the story of Ovid, by swimming over the Hellespont. But who can say that Byron was not under the same inspiration that animated Leander, particularly as he had no commentaries to hold above his head, like Cæsar? Can it be imagined, that his

⁴³ He died at Missolonghi, on the 19th April, 1824, at the age of thirty seven.

"My native land, good night!"

⁴⁴ Here, it appears, Lord Byron did not consult historical facts; else he would have said, that the judge was *unjust*.

⁴⁵ The sense of this word among the Greeks, *Entheos*, signified "God in us" (inspiration).

Sir Walter gives enthusiastic features to a Highlander (Montrose, cap. iv.)

⁴⁶ Richelieu fancied himself *beau garçon*, a gallant, a wit, and a poet.

lordship, at the age of twenty-three, and of whom also it might be said, that he was "*le seul pöete, contemporain qui ait eu la figure de son génie,*" having accomplished the difficult task, that while stepping on shore, he was received by an old woman, holding in one hand a basin of water-gruel, and with the other a stick of barley-sugar, reciting the following lines of Göthe's *Iphigenia*.

Doch ach mich trennt das meer von den Geliebten,
Und an den Ufer steh'ich lange Tage,
Und gegen meine Seufzer bringt die Welle
Nur dumpfe Töne brausend mir herüber.

Many years ago, when I beheld the coffin of Juliet Capuletti in a garden at Verona, I also exclaimed "*Ecco il luogo! Ecco l'urna!*" One of Albion's fair daughters, of whom many would not have hesitated to say "*Natura la fece, e poi ruppe la stampa,*" who stood near, observed how obliged she would be to me if I could procure for her a small fragment of that coffin, to have it set in a brooch. This was, however, easier said than done, although the coffin, the authenticity of which I certainly should not like to defend, was not much unlike a baker's kneading-trough, made of the Veronese marble, without the slightest ornament or inscription, and appeared to have been already much knocked about.⁴⁶ Of course, the first thing I did, was to address myself to the gardener's daughter, who showed the coffin, in the way Ulysses addressed himself to Nausikaa, daughter of Alkinoos, namely, how happy her father must be, possessing such a handsome daughter [she smiled], and that I hoped her lot in life would be happier

⁴⁶ Makes one think of the stone coffin of Princess Joan, wife of Llewelyn of Aber, in the great park near Beaumaris in Wales, which served for a long time as a horse-trough. About thirty years ago, Sir R. Bulkely ordered it to be placed in a grotto in the park, and had an inscription put on it by which we should learn the invalidity and transitoriness of all human affairs.

than that of poor Giulietta. The lady had come purposely from England to see this coffin, and how pleased she would be to possess only a small bit of it to be set in a brooch. Our cicerone made a sign of dissent, saying something like, "How could I make such a request?" and whether I was dreaming? I thought to myself,

Blaubern können sie, geben nicht Ruß',
Haben schon Manchen betrogen (dreams of course)
Nessen und quäsen und—greift Ihr dann zu—
Gui!—sind sie blitzschnell entflohen.⁴⁷

However, to show to the sylvan beauty that I was wide awake, I pulled out a number of zwanzigers, and bang! off flew a little chip of the coffin, which I had the pleasure to present to the lady, who might have been twenty-five years of age. *L'age de la perfection des femmes. Toutes les statues grecques ont vingt-cinq ans. Helen was twenty-five years old when she was taken away by Paris.*

Sometimes there is even cheerfulness observed on sepulchral monuments found at Aventicum; for instance, "They lived as we do; we shall die like them: thus do men drive each other through the world. Go passenger, and mind thy business." Thousands of travellers pass yearly through Avenche, on their way from Berne to Lausanne, but how few may ever have stopped at that interesting spot, which (in Switzerland) can afford to the antiquary, and the man of taste, some opportunity of forming conclusions as to the state of the people who occupied that country, at a period so long prior to modern civilisation. At Payerne, yes, the

⁴⁷ Frau, treue Frine, trügl'ich trüben Träumen nicht,
Freib' trotzig triumphirend fort das tolle Traumgeflücht,
Trockne die Thräne tragischen Trübsals tröpfelnd auf,
Trink trauten Traubentranke's Tröstitropfen d'rauf!

SPRUCH DES GROSZEN CARABANZEROS.

travellers generally stop, though little food for the mind, yet plenty for the body.

Varii son degli uomini i capricci,
A chi piace la torta, a chi, pasticci.

How few have taken the trouble to inspect the antiquities at the upper town of Nion (time of Cæsar and Augustus). At Martigny are likewise to be seen many fine and interesting specimens of sculpture of that period, as well as the remains of a Roman amphitheatre, generally called the Bishop's fish-pond.

The Emperor Vespasian was very favourably disposed towards Aventicum; his father, Titus Flavius Sabinus, who had been a receiver of taxes in Asia, and had retired to Aventicum where he carried on a profitable traffic, [a kind of bank], and where he also died, after having passed a great part of his life there.⁴⁸

Vespasian strengthened and also enlarged this, his favorite city of Aventicum by a colony of veterans, which then obtained the name of Colonia Pia Flavia. He established also a college of physicians, and other public seminaries. According to an inscription, the stones for building purposes were brought over the lake from Neuchâtel (Welsch-Neuburg, Novum Castrum), the Romanised Noidenolex Aventicus, as belonging to the Province of Avenche,⁴⁹ and which is evidently the Celtic Nvvid-din-Lech, of the Sequani, namely the New-castle, the Newtown, situated on a rocky tract⁵⁰ (in Maxima Sequanorum), as united with the

⁴⁸ Sueton in Vespas, cap. i.

⁴⁹ A Roman road passed from Noidenolex over places of the names of Campulus, Mons-Beli (Belmont), to Petenisca (Petinesca, Rutti near Buren).

⁵⁰ Le territoire autour de Neuchatel est tout de rocher et de pierre dure, et le pays est couvert en partie de bois, et en partie de vignes. It suffered much in the beginning of the reign of Honorius from the Alemanni, about A.D. 397, and was entirely destroyed by the Huns, about 451—453.

Helvetii in one province, and of which province, Vesontio (Besançon)⁵¹ became the capital probably in the time of Diocletian. From this change arose also at a later period, the origin of the jurisdiction which the Bishop of Besançon, as a metropolitan bishop, exercised over the Bishops of Basle and Lausanne.

As Aventicum was a principal place of the Helvetic district for important meetings, it was on that account sometimes also called Civitas Helvetiorum.

The Emperor Titus, according to an inscription, completed all the buildings his father, Vespasian, had commenced at Aventicum.⁵²

IMP. CÆSAR. VESPAS. AVG.
LAPIDIBUS. NOIDENOLICE. MVLTQ. LABORE.
TRACTIS. AVENTICI. MŒNIA. INSTAVRATA.
TIT. VESPASIANI. AVG. FIL. DEDICAVIT.

The colony of Aventicum, as well as the town, like the rest of Helvetia, was then under the exclusive authority of the prefect of Gallia-Lugdunensis. In Trajan's time it was comprised in the province of Maxima-Sequanorum.

Tacitus, Hist. i. 68, calls it the great capital of the Helvetii, which were a branch of the great Celtic nation. Cicero, in his speech, "de provinciis consularibus," delivered in the third year of the Gallic war, about B.C. 55, observes, that Cæsar not alone contented himself with a valorous defence against the Gauls, but that he also carried the war into their country, to subjugate them to the Romans, and that he had already given battle to some of the greatest and most courageous of those nations. "Cum acerrimis nationibus et maximis Germanorum et Helvetiorum."⁵³

⁵¹ Besançon was also taken by Attila in 451.

⁵² Lavade, in his Dict. Géographique du Canton de Vaud, gives a great many inscriptions found at Aventicum.

⁵³ A. Holtzmann *Kelten and Germanen*. Stuttgart, 1855, p. 37.

The etymology of the name of Aventicum is thoroughly Celtic, and indicates its position near a lake, as well as a river. Almost all the large rivers in Europe, have the sounds Avan⁵⁴ (Old-Brit. *Water*), Avon, Uisk, Wye, Tau, Dur, Aa, Ac, Ag, Ach; either in the beginning, like Durocorturum, Durance, Avançon, etc.; or, at the end of their names, as in Bojodurum, Aberdour, Dulciac, Sligeach (Sligo, in Ireland), though often much disguised in the inflections, by Greek and Roman writers, according to the many different dialects of this language, diffused over all the European nations of the west and north. I remember to have met with the observation, that the Irish spoken by a Munster man, is scarcely intelligible to a Connaught man. Hence the name of Aventiac is composed of the Celtic Avon,⁵⁵ Avan-üise (in Gothic, *alwa*), water and *tin*,⁵⁶ habitation; town; and again terminating by *ac*, water: that is to say, the town situated on a lake, as well as river.⁵⁷ For our purpose, other examples may be given, as in Aveniacum, on the Marne; the Avanticorum of the Avantici, in Gallia-Narbonensis, near the river Vancon. Further, we have Avenio (Avignon), Avidonacum (Aunay), the rivers Avon and Avon-dale (Oundle), in Northamptonshire; Avon-Dhu (the river Forth); Avonmore, i.e., the great river, near Lismore, in Ireland. Aven-bach, we have in Würtemberg. Aweland, Aland (Waterland). In Wales, we have Avon-

⁵⁴ Reminds one also of the name of the river Abana, at Damascus.

⁵⁵ Avon is the name of the river at Bristol. In Scotland, rivers are frequently called only water. A Glasgow man says he is going down the water, meaning the Frith of the Clyde. There is also the Dour-water.

⁵⁶ Baal-tien, the house of Baal, a ruin near Killa, in Ireland.

⁵⁷ Ravenna (Ar-avena), which, according to Strabo i., p. 213, was situated in the midst of a number of marshes, and built entirely on wooden piles, and crossed on little bridges.

y-Llan, Avon-Gwawr—this river runs into the lake of Bala—and the fierce mountain torrent Avon-Twrch, which falls from the rugged and wild summit of Mount Aran.

An old chronicle of the Pays de Vaud, however, settles the matter in an easier way, by deriving the name of Aventicum from Aventia, a fair damsel at the court of King Helvetius.

The Itinerary of Antoninus gives the following stations to Milan. Aventicum, Minodunum, Bromago (Promasens Viromagus), Vibisco (Vevey), Octodurus (Martigny), Summo Pennino (Great St. Bernard), Augusta Prætoria (Aosta), Vitricio (Verrez), Eporedia (Yvrea), Vercellas, Novaria, and Mediolanum.

The most conspicuous public buildings of the epoch of Vespasian, of which one still sees the ruins at Aventicum, are the temple of Neptune and Apollo,⁵⁸ and the remains of an amphitheatre, over which the grass is grown; and which, in preservation, is perhaps not much better, if I remember well, than the one at Cirencester.⁵⁹ Not far from the amphitheatre, stands in a meadow (as at Samos), a pillar of the Corinthian order, thirty-seven feet high. It has been called Le Cigognier, from the nest of a stork upon it, for many years.

⁵⁸ NVMINIB AVG
ET GENIO COL. HEL
APOLLINI SACR.
Q POSTVM HVGINVS
ET POSTVM HERMES LIB.
MED [icis:] ET PROFESS
D. S. D.

Of this inscription, explanations are given by M. Bochat, *Hist. Ancienne de la Suisse*, vol. ii., p. 380, 381.

⁵⁹ Illustrations of the remains of Roman art at Cirencester (Corinium), by Professor Bukman. London, 1850, pl. i.

The plough passes over sculptures, altars, tombs, mosaic pavements,⁶⁰ and immense walls.

Was hemmt den Aftersmann die Pferde?
 Weßwegen fteht und ftockt fein Pflug?
 Er wundert ſich, ſieht in die Erde,
 Und findet einen Todtenfrug;
 Den wirft er hin — als er zerbrochen,
 Ruft eine hohle Stimm' im Feld,
 Verſchone meiner ſtiller Knochen,
 Ich bin ein alter Römerheld.

Or, as Virgil ſays,

Grandiaque effosis mirabitur ossa sepulchris.

Everywhere are traces of ancient grandeur. The original pavement is, in general, ten feet under ground, and the coins found there, are from Augustus to Constantine.

However, traces of remains in architecture, or in sculpture of religious worship of the anti-Roman period in Switzerland, have mostly disappeared, except in the numerous sepulchres, and in the type of Celtic coins. I may, perhaps, yet mention the well known, so called *Pierre aux Dames* (aux Demoiselles), near Geneva, attributed to Druidical rites.

In days of old, the vessels of *Lacus Aventicensis* anchored beneath the walls of *Aventicum*, now about three miles to the east of the town. During the last century, strong iron rings have yet been seen on those walls, for the purpose, as it appeared, of fastening the vessels and barges which were in port. Now, all that part of the lake is dried up, as far as *Morat* (*Lacus Muratensis*), which circumstance reminds one almost of the name of the *Lake Mareotis* — *Mariout*, in Egypt, now an extensive plain, with dark shrubs and pasturage — camel browsing-ground.

⁶⁰ A description of different mosaic pavements is given by *Levade*, *Dict. Geograph.*, etc., du Canton de Vaud, pp. 24, 25.

Tigurini are mentioned as inhabiting the districts (Pagi) of Moratum and Aventicum.⁶¹ In later times, the lake of Aventicum, reaching now only as far the small town of Morat (Curtis Moratum), changed its name to that of Lacus Moratum, Muratum, Muratensis, Murten-See (A.D. 932), and Lac de Morat, which is evidently the Celtic Mor-i-dun, that is to say, the hill of defence on the lake, and not unlike Dunmore, on the west coast of Ireland. *Muir-gearr* means close to the sea; *mor*, *mer*, *merlach*, *marise*, *marais*, *morast*. There is likewise a Moradunum ad Ruram, which is the town of Werden, on the river Rhur; and the ancient name of Morges (Morsee), on the shore of the lake of Geneva, was Mor-i-ac, Moriacum; and that of the village of Meyri, was Meir-i-acum. In Mar-i-dun, we have also the town of Caermarthen⁶², one of the fine bays on the west coast of Wales; and in Scotland, is a Muirtown, situated, I believe, on Loch-Ness (Mor-ben and Penhryn for promontory). Marobudunum, is the old name of the town of Prague; and Agedunum (Gallia Aquit. Prima), the town of Aun, on the river of that name: all of them derived from the same root.

Ammianus Marcellinus, A.D. 355 — 390, mentions Aventicum as a town that had much suffered, and that its ruins attest its ancient splendour. He says, "*Aventicum, desertam quidem civitatem, sed non ignobilem quondam, ut ædificia semirutæ nunc quoque demonstrant*" (xv. II, ed. 1693). It appears, that about that time, as well as towards the middle of the fifth century, attempts were occasionally

⁶¹ Professor Thed. Mommsen, in his learned treatise on Switzerland during the Roman period: "*Die Schweiz in römischer Zeit*," Zurich, 1854.

⁶² *Caer-mar-dun*: Caer, as well as Dun, a castle, a town. *Caer-leon*, Chester.

made to repair and rebuild at Aventicum, perhaps by order of the Emperor Constantius Gallus; but, Attila having defeated the Burgundian king, Gundicar, at Rauracum, in A.D. 447, it is stated that the ravages of his hordes extended also as far as Aventicum. In A.D. 476, we hear yet of the Alemanni having been in that neighbourhood.

Of a later period, some historians mention, that in A.D. 607, a count Vivilo, or Willi (Gulielmus?), of little Burgundy, built there a strong castle, and houses around; and, hence, Aventicum was called Willisburg, which town, now-a-days, the neighbouring German population actually call Wilflisburg. If so, then the name may, perhaps, refer to the Guelfs, Welfs. Williburg, we find as a family name in the tenth century, about that neighbourhood.⁶³ We may yet add, that in the time of Burchardt, Bishop of Lausanne (who was killed in battle, A.D. 1088, in the service of the Emperor Henry IV., against his opponent, Egbert, Count of Thuringia), the present Avenche was built on and from the ruins of the ancient town of Aventicum. By Gottfridus, of Viterbo, it was called Avenza, "*nomen Avenza fuit*";⁶⁴ and in local documents of the twelfth century, again Aven-ticha. In 1473, we find it called Avanchiacum.

The time at which Aventicum received the first sensible blow to its prosperity, was A.D. 254 — 260, by an invasion of the Alemanni. Gibbon (cap. 10) agrees to that period (A.D. 254); stating, that the Franks and Alemanni devastated, in the most cruel manner, that part of Gaul to which Helvetia belonged. Another devastation, it appears, occurred in the time of Diocletian, about A.D. 294. Then, again, under Magnentius, 350 — 352, by Alemanni and

⁶³ Joh. von Müller, I., p. 269.

⁶⁴ Gottfridus Tioneosus, Chron. Univers. He was bishop of Viterbo, from 1184 to 1191.

Burgundians, which Gothofredus Viterbensis, in Chron., calls Suevi: "*Marte Suevorum periit primatus eorum*" (Aventicensium). Further calamities are noticed in A.D. 375; and the last ravages mentioned are in the time of Honorius, 395 — 423. When, in A.D. 407, the last hour of the Roman power on the Rhine had struck, then the Alemanni made again irruptions into Switzerland, and took possession of the northern and western parts. Swo n enemies of the Roman name, they also hated and destroyed all which preserved the memory of Roman civilisation. It is striking to observe, that in Switzerland, and also in England, scarcely any ancient family claimed a Roman descent. In France and Belgium, it appears different. M. Victor Hugo (Le Rhin) finds at Namur, a certain Janus, *boulangier*; at the faubourg St. Denis, Nero, *confiseur*; at Arles, even on the pediment of the ruins of a Roman temple, Marius, *coiffeur*. A few years afterwards, the Burgundians, in like manner, took possession of Western Switzerland. In England, it was the same. The state of the Roman buildings generally indicate the ravages of fire, and present devastation and sudden abandonment. The Northmen joined with the native British, trampled down the luxury and arts which the Romans had bequeathed to them.

However, Ammianus Marcellinus, who had travelled through almost all parts of Switzerland, had already, as mentioned before, seen Aventicum deserted, and its buildings half destroyed. "*Aedificia semirutata,*" and "*desertam civitatem.*" Hence, perhaps, also the name which the Teutonic settlers gave to that country, calling it Ochtland, Uchtland, and Od-land, in order to denote a deserted land; and the lake they called Uchtensee. Unti as late as the fifteenth century, many parts of the country were still described in public documents by the words "*desertum,*"

or the German Uechtland (die Uechtländische Wüste); and the Lacus Aventicensis is also mentioned as "Ucht-See."

On our road from Aventicum to Lausanne, we pass the little old town of Moudon, the Roman Minodunum (Minidunum), which is the Celtic Min-i-dun, namely, the town, the settlement on the smooth, the lovely or pleasant hill; reminding one also of the Minariacum (Merville) in Flanders, and the Mineriacum (Exeter) in England, as well as Min-wye, the smooth, the gentle river. In Austria, we have a Minnenbach; and in Bavaria, the small river, the Mintella (Mündel). *Min*, in Gaelic, means neat, pretty, gentle: in Irish, smoothness: and *min-vin*, in Welsh, means lip to lip, kissing: *mi* and *min* has also the meaning for small (Mignon). Minidunum has actually changed into the German "Milden," which indicates, also, the same as mild, gracious (Milford-Haven). At the town hall of Moudon, is built into the wall the following interesting Roman inscription.

PRO SALVTE DOMVS DIVIN
 L. O. M. IVNON. REGIN
 ARAM. Q. AEL. AV. . . NVS IIIII. AVG
 DE SVO ITEM DONAVID VICAN
 MINNODVNENS. X. DCCL. EX
 QVORVM VSSVR. GYMNA
 SIVM INDERCI. TEMPOR
 PER TRIDVM EISDEM
 VICAN. DEDIT IN AEVM
 QVOD SI IN ALIOS VSSVS
 TRANSFER VOLVERINT
 HANC PECUN INC COL AVEN.
 TICCENSIVM DARI VOLO
 L. D. D. V. M.

This inscription is thus read:—

Quintus Aelius Avienus, one of the six priests of Augustus, has erected this altar, at his own expense, to Jupiter, the greatest and best; and to Juno, the queen of the gods, for the preservation of the imperial house. Likewise he has presented to the

citizens of Minodunum, the sum of 75,000 sesterces, the interest of which is to be employed in forming a gymnasium, wherein they (the citizens) during three days, at different times, may hold gymnastic exercises: should, however, the community employ this sum for other purposes, in that case, he orders that this money should devolve to the members of the colony of Aventicum.⁶⁵

To trace the words of different origin to their respective sources, is a study of great interest. But who is infallible in these matters, and in the discovery of the successive meanings of words? The greatest philologists sometimes err therein.

The distinguished historian and archæologist, Chevalier Bunsen, in his late work, "*Ægyptens Weltgeschichte*," Gotha, 1856, vol. v., makes a suggestion very discouraging to etymologists. He says, p. 48, "Etymological research, and the comparison of words of different languages, appear in the history of the human mind, not unlike the vessels of the ancients between Scylla and Charybdis. Only the resignation and firmness of Odysseus, who had himself bound to the mast, and his ears stopped,⁶⁶ can protect from the seduction of the Sirenian song of a similarity in sounds, and of deceiving pictorial connections. Because, it is certain, that he who yields to it, is lost; and will be, sooner or later, dashed against the cliffs of folly."

It is certainly true, that many men have a rock on which they split; but others, to avoid shipwreck, set to work and split the rock. In fact, the pilot who sees a Scylla under his bows, must not, for the time, think of the more distant dangers of Charybdis.

With regard to the attempt at tracing the names of primitive Keltic settlements, Latinised during so long a

⁶⁵ Haller, *Helvet. unter den Römern*. ii., p. 240.

⁶⁶ It appears to me, Odysseus got himself bound to the mast for the purpose of hearing the song of the sirens.

Roman domination, we have now a great help and security in the (only of late) so successful study of the coins which were struck by the different people of the great Keltic nation, in England, France, Spain, and Germany. Those coins we may consider as steamers, which may carry us past the Charybdis and Scylla.⁶⁷ I do not mean to say without danger. But, only fancy Sir Charles Napier as Odysseus, in the Wellington (131 guns), passing before those renowned places! what a broadside he would throw into the monster, should she rise up to swallow some of his jolly tars! He might even splinter the very cliffs; and, with regard to the Sirenian song, those who have heard Madame Pasta, and the Siren⁶⁸ of Senigaglia, Catalani,⁶⁹ the Semiramis (Sammouramat) of songs, need not want any wax in their ears.

⁶⁷ Scopulus Scylla, Pliny 3, § 87. *Skyl, scill*, in one of the dialects of the Keltic language, means *rock*, and reminds one of the wild shores of Ski-an-ack, in Scotland. Among the screw steamers (corvettes), lately built by order of the Admiralty, is one which bears the name of Scylla (21).

Navis et a picta casside nomen habet.—*Ovid*.

⁶⁸ Siren is formed of the Phœnician word *sir*, song. *Suire*, in Irish, means sea-nymphs. Keating, in his ancient History of Ireland, described the *suire* playing round the ships of the Milesians, in their passage to Ireland. As a British female name, we find it under *Victi-sirana* (Gruter, 700—6). Under *Victesis* and *Vectis*, occurs the name of the Isle of Wight.

"If thou (Roland Græme) art won by the song of these sirens (the maids of honour of Scotland's queen), to aid that unhappy lady's escape from this place (the castle of Lochleven) of penitence and security, it is over with the peace of Scotland's cottages," etc.—*The Abbot*, cap. 25.

It is curious, that in Canton Uri, a myth is believed, that the "Bull of Uri," which was white, as benefactor of his country, vanquished the terrible monster, Surenen.

⁶⁹ I have seen lately, in a paper, that the municipality of Pisa has decided on erecting a monument, in the Campo Santo, to Madame Catalani.

Leibnitz has, with good reason, observed, that he considered the names of places as the most proper of all to preserve the almost lost idioms, and as traces of the existence of past nations. And it is natural enough that a place, a landscape, or country, cannot bear a borrowed name of a language now estranged, without having received it from a people who formerly spoke that language. But no country can secure a language altogether from the injuries of time, from the arbitrary power of fashion, and from the common fate of all things. In our etymological researches, of course, difficulties arise also from the use of the different dialects of the language of the great Keltic nation, which may be observed by and by in the many names of the elements, of mountains, of rocks, fortifications, etc. Here I may only say, by way of comparison, that it is long acknowledged that the Dutch language and the Flemish (*vlaemsche tael*) are one and the same in their origin. In Belgium, the provisional government of 1830 (Oct 5th), ordered that the official Text of Government Decrees, should be drawn up and published in the French language, because "Les langues flamande et allemande, en usage parmi les habitants de certains localités, varient de province à province, quelquefois de district en district."

We may also observe, that the patois of the Roman part of Helvetia contains yet remains of Keltic; and so it likewise appears in all the Roman provinces of Gaul, where the people have preserved a patois. In Savoy, the foreign intermixture, it is said, has been small; the population being, in the more mountainous parts, simply Roman-Keltic and then more Keltic than Roman. In Spain, the Kelto-Iberian aboriginal language continues to exist to the present day, in the Basque dialect.

Until the fifth century, Switzerland was Keltic and Latin, as France was; and, at that period, mixture partially began.

The Latin language, though still partially preserved in monasteries, rapidly declined everywhere else, and was transformed into that sort of jargon, the patois which, on account of its principal source, was called *Langue Romane*, or *Romance*, of which the constituent elements were Keltic, clipped and disfigured Latin, and partly Teutonic introduced by the Frankish conquerors. This Romance formed itself under a hundred gradations, from Sicily to Switzerland, through Gallia, and to the other side of the Pyrenees. We will take, for instance, the word beauty, which is found in *bautad*, *bentad*, *beltaz*, *belheza*, *belhaz*, *beltad*, *beautaza*, etc. The word *sir*, we have in *seigner*, *seigneur*, *senher*, *sengher*, *sen*, *ser*, *messer*, *mossen*, *mosser*, etc. The new Romance received, however, early in Italy the denomination of *Lingua Volgare*. The Vaudois says,

“Proutsche le gro, et le ’rio, ne boutte pa te n’otto.”

[Build not thy dwelling near the great [the mansions of] nor
beside the torrent.]

The primitive inhabitants of the Pays de Vaud were Kelts,⁷⁰ who in a remote period were domiciled between the Rhine and Maine and the Hercynian forest.⁷¹ In the time of Cæsar, the Pays de Vaud was the abode of the Latobrigi.⁷² He says “Latobrigi ad Lacum Lemanum, Allobrogum etiam finitimi quippa Rhodanus et Lacus Lemanus. Allobroges et Provinciam Romanam ab iis separant.”⁷³ And also he says, that the Helvetii were separated by the Jura from those people in Gaul called the Sequani (Burgundy and Franche-comté). Helvetii continentur una ex parte, flumine Rheno latissimo atque altissimo, qui agrum Helvetium à Germanis dividit, altera ex parte, monte Jura altis-

⁷⁰ Tit. Liv. lib. xxi. cap. 30. Polyb. lib. iii. p. 189.

⁷¹ Tacit. Germ. cap. 28.

⁷² Strabo, i. 4, mentions also Nantuates.

⁷³ Cæs. de B. G., lib. i. c. i. ii. viii.

simo, quæ est inter Sequanos et Helvetios tertia, lacu nostram ab Helvetiis dividit. Without any historical trace of a change in their situation, Tacitus mentions the Helvetii more than a hundred years afterwards.

With regard to the origin of the name of the Pays de Vaud, Vaux, Waat-land, Patria Vaudi, at a remote period, A.D. 517, Pagus Valdensis, so mentioned in a donation of land to the monastery of St. Maurice, by the Burgundian king, Sigismund. Comitatus Valdensis, we have in A.D. 814, and in 839, Comitatus Waldensis usque mare Rhodani.

Rudolph III., the last of the Burgundian kings (second race), was crowned at Lausanne, on which occasion he presented the Bishop Henry (A.D. 985—1019), with the Comitatus Waldensis (Vaudois). The act is of A.D. 1011, The land of Vaud was also called Pays Roman, it being the last district of Helvetia in which the declining power of Rome preserved a footing.

Now I venture to say, that at the invasion of the Burgundians who had broken forth from their settlements between the Oder and the Weser, and had overrun a great portion of Gaul, Helvetia, Savoy, etc., as likewise the part of Switzerland in question, they called the district, now the Pays de Vaud, the country of the Walen⁷⁴ (Gals, Gwals, Whal, Walah, Gallia, Wallia). Just as other Teutonic tribes after the fall of the Roman Empire did in other lands, wherein the Keltic language, more or less Romanised, was yet spoken analogous to the Walkish, Walish, and Weallas-land, that is to say, land of the Gaels, taking the name of Walhes, Waelsches, Waeches, Wallonnes, Gallons, Gauls of Welsh-Flandres (Flandres-Gallicant), the Chur-Wallen,

⁷⁴ At the time of Herodotus, Spain, Switzerland, the Tyrol, and the country south of the Danube, were the seats of the Keltic tribes.

Pagus Churwalaha (Canton Grisons), Welsh Tyrol, the Volci of Italy, the Wallaches of Hungary, the Wlochi and Gallicians (Galleika) of Poland and Spain. And so again to the Gaelwalli, the Gael-dun-seis (Caledonians) of the hills of Scotland,⁷⁵ Ireland and Wales. [Pays de Galles]; in old French we have Prince de Gaules.⁷⁶ Inche Galle are still called the Western Islands (Innis) of Scotland.

Many places in Switzerland and Germany may be mentioned to have sprung from those so called Welsche like Walahischinga (Wilzingen near Zell on the Danube), Walapah (Wollbach in Baden), and so on, Walsdorf, Wallendorf, Walhausen, Welschenhausen. In Switzerland (Canton Turgau and Zürich), we have Wallenstadt, Wallensee, Walahwilare, Walasseldon, Wallenschwaden, etc. In Bavaria we have yet Walgengau, Walchensee, Walchenfluss, Frauenwalchen and Strasswalchen. And in Würtemberg Walahse, and Walohstetti, which have been transformed into Waldstetten and Waldsee, and especially the old Walah (*Wal-a*, a stranger, a traveller;⁷⁷ *Walisc*, belonging to strangers), being no longer understood, was changed into Wolla and Wald (forest), as we have also observed before the change from Weallasland into Pagus Waldensis.

After the Celtic Britons had taken refuge, about A.D. 950, in Wales, Cornwall (Corn-Weallas, Cornu-Gaules), and Armorica, the Saxons, conformably to their language, named them Walahise, Wilse, and Brit-Welsh. But all this does not, of course, identify them as being all of the same tribe, because each is called Welsh. However, all

⁷⁵ In the Highlands, Caeldock, an old camp, bears the name of Fortingal, the fort of the strangers.

⁷⁶ In a Swiss song of the fourteenth century, a duke is mentioned of the name of Ysso de Callis (Wales), who wore a gold cap, and commanded a troop of English cavalry.

⁷⁷ Walla, in Hindu, signifies man.

these appellations are yet synonymous, even now-a-days, in the language of Ireland, namely, equivalent to the word *Gaoillach*, which means the Irish people. And so it was with the word *Gaul*, abbreviated from *Gaoidhiol* (*Gaël*).⁷⁸ *Cæsar* says, "*ipsorum lingua Celtæ, nostra vero Galli vocantur.*"

From the venerable remains of these topographical names alone, may be traced the origin of nations. The last and heaviest check which the Keltic language received, was, that the Romish missionaries introduced, at the same time with the new and truly blessed doctrine, the Latin language in the celebration of divine service, and banished thereout the others as profane. "We have only three holy languages," is the saying in several monastic writings of the middle ages; "the Hebrew, the Greek, and the Latin, because, in these languages, did *Pilate* fix on the top of the cross, the words '*Jesus Nazarenus Rex Judæorum.*'" However, it may be proved, both from ancient writers and older coins, that the Keltic language was yet spoken by the lower orders in the provinces, after the subversion of the Roman Empire, beyond the fifth century, particularly in *Noricum*, *Gallia-Mediterranea*, parts of *Switzerland*, and the *North of Italy*. And even now-a-days, the mountaineer of *Switzerland*, and the *Tyrol*, sends his son to *Milan*, to *Gallia Cisalpina*, to learn *Walhisc* "*Welsch.*"

⁷⁸ It is said, that the Irish language contains within it, the radices of the ancient Keltic, and the affinities can be better traced in the Irish, than in any of the other existing branches (for which see *Zeus's* "*Grammatica Keltica*").

Stanishurst (*de Rebus Hibern.*) observes: "*Omnes insulæ locos et lucos Wallici nominis gloria implevit.*" The renown of the Welsh name hath filled all the ways and woods of the island.

Nei loſet, wiener weſſche cha!
Verſtoht men au ne Wörtli dra?

There is also an expression used in the South of Germany, namely, that of "Chauderwelsch," which has the meaning of gibberish, as likewise "Rotwülsch" (*Rot*, vagrant; and *Wälsch*, outlandish lingo), or "Gauner Sprache."

In Italy, a great number of names of cities, villages, castles, lakes, and rivers, may be traced to a primitive Keltic origin. Quintillian (lib. i., Inst. Orat. c. 5) also states, that among the words derived from other languages (in the Latin), those from the Keltic are the most numerous.

By so long a Roman domination, those primitive names of Keltic settlements (B.C. 593⁷⁹) had been gradually Latinised. In some places, the memory of the former domiciliation of the Kelts was remarkably preserved in names, as in Sinigaglia, the old seat of the Gaels.

quia relictum
Gallorum a populis traxit per sæcula nomen.⁸⁰

The name of Senogallia, or Senegallia, (Sena Gallica) seems to me to signify the old, or oldest, seat or settlement of the Gaels or Gauls, in Umbria.

Sena, is a Gaelic word, and means, old; *seanois*, great age; *senathair*, grandfather; *senaidh*, old woman. Also, the Druids appear under the name of *Senan* and *Sene*.⁸¹

One may likewise compare *senex*, *senatus*, etc. Furthermore, we have Forum Gallorum (Castel Franco), and

⁷⁹ In the North of Europe, the establishment of the Keltic States is beyond the reach of written annals. The traditions and songs to which they trusted their history, were lost, or altogether corrupted.

⁸⁰ Silius, lib. xv.

⁸¹ Martin, Rel. des Gaulois, i., p. 178.

Gallinaria Insula;⁸² and here we are reminded of Inche Galle (the Hebrides). In the beginning of our era, the countries inhabited by different branches of the great Keltic nation, such as Kelt-Iberi, Kelto-Germani, Kelto-Skiti,⁸³ Kelto-Liguri, etc., comprehended, according to Dionysius Halcarnasseus (xv. 2), the fourth part of Europe.

I often questioned why the English did not rather adopt the Italian name of Livorno (Liburini Portus) for Leghorn, until I found that it is the original Keltic name "Llughorn," signifying a lantern, a lighthouse (Lucerne). Why should Milan, founded by the Insubrian Gauls as their capital, not be the Gaelic Midhe-lan (Mediolanum), an enclosure, a town, situated in the midst of their territory, between the rivers Ticino and Adda? Midhe-ia Middleland: here the Saxon *utland*, terra exterior.

At Carrara, we have the Irish *car*, *caer*, *carren*, stone, rock. *Car-eis*, the quantity of rock, synonymous names in Scotland; and in Ireland, in Kerrera.⁸⁴ In Brittany, we have the great plain of Carnac, with its mighty Dracontium, or serpent temple, the stony folds of which extended eight miles.

But let us return again to Switzerland. Have we not the famous Karren (Schratten) fields, as constituting one of the rare features of Alpine regions? These are vast sterile fields of limestone rock, so rent and fretted by atmospheric action, that they sometimes look like ploughed fields of

⁸² Capture of Rome by the Gauls, B.C. 390. Beginning of the Gallic war, B.C. 225.

⁸³ Strabo (Geogr. lib. ii.) says: "Veteres Graecorum scriptores universas gentes septentrionales Scythes, et Kelto-scithas appellarunt."

⁸⁴ *Carrick-a-Rede* (the rock in the road), an isolated rock of basalt, near the Giant's Causeway. *Carrasca*, in Spanish, signifies stony.

stone, sometimes like endless rows of sharp ridges set close together, etc. Travellers, hunters, and cowherds, avoid them, on account of their dreariness and the difficulty of walking over them: in fact, this Karren is a corroded desert of rock, without a trace of any spring, or trickling ice stream.

The Lake of Como, in Cisalpine Gaul, is formed by the waters of the river Adda; and more than one hundred and ninety small brooks and rivulets empty themselves into it. In the neighbouring Upper Rhaetia (Helvetii Gallica gens) the lake is called "Legh-da-cum." Those of the lower country, about Coire, call it "Cummer see." *Cumar* is a Keltic word, and signifies a place where streams meet: *cumon*, in Irish, means union.

Lago di Guarda, at the foot of the Alps, the Benacus of Pliny, appears to me to have derived its name from the Keltic Ben-loch (Ben-lacus, Benacus, Ben-ac), namely, the lake surrounded (enclosed) by hills, the mountain lake; a comparison to Lacus Dunensis, in Switzerland.

In Wales, we have the famous rocky plateau "Ben-glog," from whence the waters of five lakes throw themselves, by a magnificent waterfall, into a profound abyss. In Scotland, we have a Benval.

The lower part is also enclosed by hills, the Colli Benacesi. The agitation of the lake is mentioned in a passage by Virgil.

teque
Fluctibus et fremitu surgens Benace marino.

This agitation is produced by violent hurricanes rushing down from the ravines of the Alps into the lake. A torrent has the name of Brasca. Here again, the Gaelic *bras*, sudden, and the name of the most furious wind, which gives the lake at times, as mentioned by Virgil, the terrific

appearance of a stormy sea (*imita coll' acque dolci il mar*), is Sofero : *sofar, sofaraith*, in Gaelic, means strong.

Another powerful wind often blows from the side of Lonado, called Andro. By *Andas*, in Etruscan, was meant Boreas.

Andras was worshipped as a fury, or infernal divinity, by the Gauls; who, at last, paid extraordinary honours to the winds, lakes, and mountains.

Augustus had created a temple for the wind Circius (N.N.W.) of the Gauls, because they were incommoded therewith, and had their houses blown down by it.

Even the present name of Lago di Guarda, appears to approach to this suggestion. *Garth*, in Keltic, means an inclosure, a yard; as we have it in *Cunning-garth*, the king's camp; *kirk-garth*, churchyard; *deer-garth*, deer-park. In Wales, we have it in *gaer*; for instance, in *Moel-y-gaer*, the hill of the camp; and a magnificent rock has the name of *Maes-y-gaer*. In Scotland, we have the *Gare-loch*.

The greatest contribution to the Lago di Guarda, comes from the river Mincius. The head of this lake is between Monte Baldo (*balach*, in Irish, is a giant) and the mountains of Brisano (*breisan*, in Celtic, signifies break, crack, tear), which rise perpendicularly, with a rugged, broken appearance, from Gorgona to Riva.

In the Alps of Switzerland, of the thirty-two different named winds, the most conspicuous are the Foehn (south), Typhon by the Egyptians (*Ti-ube*, the opponent, enemy);

“ The blast that brought me hither now, did sweep Egyptian ground;”⁸⁵

The fiery cloud, on which I ride, for Araby is bound.”

⁸⁵ The Simoon (Simum), which blows near the Red Sea, raises Fahrenheit's Thermometer from 110° to 130°.

and in Syria, as god of hurricanes and tempests, *Ventus Malignus*.⁸⁶ The Chinese have the word *Ti-foon* for great wind. The *Transmontanus*, or North wind, is called by the Swiss, the *Bise*. About the Lake of Geneva, the most violent wind is the *Vaudaire* (*Vulturnus*?), S.E., which rushes out of the mountain gorge of the Valais.⁸⁷ The *Foehn* (*Favonius*⁸⁸), sent over from Italy,⁸⁹ is the most treacherous: its strength is sometimes extraordinary, and no wind in the Alps combines so many air-gushes and tornadoes, and it is therefore much dreaded. Avalanches rush down, open new paths, and crush every thing before them; glaciers fall, rocks slide down, and mountains fall; and then brooks, rivers, and lakes overflow, and all around is desolation. It wrecks vessels and barges upon the lakes, unroofs houses, and tears down trees.

In the high valleys of Uri and Glarus, according to an ancient law, as long as the *foehn* blows, no light, no fire, either in the stove or on the hearth, is allowed, on account of the dangers of a conflagration.

⁸⁶ Ovid places Typhon under Aetna.

⁸⁷ Perhaps this may also occasion that atmospheric current, on the Lake of Geneva, called "*Seiches*."

⁸⁸ *Favonius* brought also to the Greeks, generally storm and rain (*Hom. Od.*, xii. 289, xiv. 259). Other names of the principal winds of the ancients, we have in *Auster*, *Aquilo*, *Corus*, *Vulturnus*, etc. *Achilles* implores *Boreas* (*Etesios*) and *Zephyros*, and promises them pompous sacrifices, if they will awake the flame of the funeral pile of *Patroclus* (*Il. xxiii.* 105). The mention of a temple to the winds, illustrates a distich in Ovid.

"Te quoque, Tempestas, meritam delubra fatemur,

Cum poene est Corsis obruta classis aquis."

i. e., We confess that thou, goddess of the storm, deservest a temple, since the fleet has nearly been overwhelmed in the waters of Corsica.

⁸⁹ In the Mediterranean, the English sailors call this sort of hurricane, a "*levanter*."

Wenn sich der Föhn erhebt aus seinen Schlünden,
 Löscht man die Feuer aus, die Schiffe suchen
 Eilends den Hafen, und der mächt'ge Geist
 Geht ohne Schaden spurlos über die Erde.

Often the sky is serene, with the exception of the Föhn-cloud (Föhnwolke), which, according to the expression of the Alpine people, "hangs on the top of a high mountain, lurking like an evil spirit, ready to precipitate itself into the valley." In Ossian, we find that, "The angry ghost moves before the clouds; the dark winds are in his hand; they begin to rise, and the dark wave of the lake resounds."⁹⁰ Fingal's first love, Agandecca, departed, in his dream, on the winds of Lena. Also the Psalmist sings, "Thou, Lord, makest the clouds thy chariot, and walkest upon the wings of the wind." In Tyrol, the Föhn was worshipped under the name of Fonion, as a deity which caused destruction and war,⁹¹ probably from the aboriginal German, Fôna, fire, in the signification of wind and fire, that is to say, the heated wind (Favonius).

As the Romans established their laws in all the conquered countries of the Kelts, and rewarded with the privileges of Roman citizens and the toga, at first, perhaps, only some serviceable persons and towns, but afterwards entire provinces, so also many of the Britons in the time of Agricola, exchanged the garb of their fathers for the dignified toga. In like manner the Latin language introduced itself into all courts of justice, and all public transactions, whereby the language of the country lost its estimation, being only considered as that spoken by the populace, and at last became removed within the Glens of the Pyrenees,

⁹⁰ A sailor who is quick in what he does, is said to be "as active as the devil in a gale of wind."

⁹¹ Hormeyr. Geschichte Tyrols. i. p. 52.

the Highlands of Scotland, Ireland, Wales and Basse-Bretagne. It appears that even Livy, lib. v. c. 33, observes that the Rhæti did not escape from having their language corrupted. The Emperor Antoninus, A.D. 138—161, had ordered that the Gauls should chaunt their hymns at their sacrifices in the Latin language. A similar reason must be given for the disappearance of the Etruscan language in Italy, and in other countries, conquered by the Romans. One would suppose that St. Gallus and St. Columbanus could have addressed the Helvetii in no other language but the Keltic. Of the Gallo-Greeks (Galatians), St. Jerome observes, that in his time (fifth century), they spoke nearly the same language as that spoken at Treves, by the Kymro-Belgae. "Unum est quod inferimus, et promissum in exordio reddimus, Galatas excepto sermone Græco, quo omnis Oriens loquitur, propriam linguam eandem pene habere quam Treviros (St. Jerom. Comment. lib. ii., in epistolarum ad Galatas, cap. iii.). According to Giraldus in the *Itinerarium Cambicum*, p. 848, a chief ecclesiastic, near Haverford, proclaimed the word of God to the heathen assembly, in the Gaelic and Latin languages.

On the borders of the lake of Geneva, particularly in the environs of Lausanne, several Keltic burying-grounds have been discovered, and already some hundred graves have been opened. They appear to have been partly hewn in the rock, and partly dug out, and then mostly lined and covered over with slabs of stone, brought, apparently, from the opposite, or Savoy side of the Lake. Sometimes these graves contain several layers of skeletons, belonging to different periods; and it is mostly in the lower or oldest layers that urns occur with the skeletons; however, in all the different layers, objects of bronze are often found, and others of iron with fine inlaid work.

The stone coffins found in the cairns, barrows of the

Highlands in Scotland, are likewise made of flag-stones set on edge, with another by way of cover.

It happened during the summer of 1842, while inspecting one day the coins of the Cantonal library of Lausanne, that I had the pleasure to become acquainted with M. Frederic Troyon, proprietor of an estate called Belair, situated a few miles above Lausanne, on which place many Keltic sepulchres had been discovered by him only a short time before. M. Troyon had the goodness to invite the librarian and myself to inspect some of these tombs, and, at the same time, the interesting and valuable museum he had formed of the great varieties of objects found therein. Because in those days, the pious and liberal hand deposited with the beloved dead in the earth often fine and valuable things, and considered nothing too dear to gladden the defunct in the other world.

Bringet her die letzten Gaben,
Stimmt die Todtenflag'!
Alles sei mit ihm begraben
Was ihn freuen mag.

Legt ihm unters Haupt die Beile
Die er tapfer schwang,
Auch des Bären fette Keule,
Denn der Weg ist lang.

But, now-a-days, too many already contend for the property, at the death-bed of him who is about to quit this world; and, although they give him a winding-sheet, that he may not seem utterly neglected, yet take care to bury with him nothing that could, in future, expose his remains to the violation of antiquarians; — following, hereby, Lycurgus, who suffered nothing to be buried with the corpse, except the red cloth and the olive leaves in which it was wrapped. I may, however, observe, that in the

Chronicles of Erin, no mention is made with regard to placing any other thing with the dead than the shroud.

"Awhile, the weight of Ith was borne to the land, and laid within the wrapper; the fires were lighted, the circle was formed, the night-watch set; and, on the morrow, it was moved to the place where his heap was to be raised. And Ardac, and I, raised the death-song;⁹² and the bards, and the matrons and damsels, and the harps, poured forth their voices to the praise of Ith. And the stones were rolled to the entrance of the house of darkness."

The careful and correct manner in which these antiquities were displayed by M. Troyon, shewed an erudite knowledge of archæology.

The removing of the lid of one of those graves, where lay "the mighty bones of ancient men," had disturbed a large toad, which crawled about in all directions round the skeleton. It was a sight not easy to be forgotten; and we were pretty well tempted to muse on the vanity of human hopes in this world, and draw a mournful lesson from this tomb of Keltic barbarism. No inscription or tombstone has yet been discovered, and, perhaps, it is just as well; for if some men of our days could come out of their sepulchres, and read the inscriptions on their tombstones, they would think they had been placed in the wrong grave.

Some of the Menhirs (*men-hir*, stone long) may have marked the resting places of eminent chiefs.

By Ossian, one may support the opinion, that lofty grey stones were placed over the tombs of chiefs. "Our eyes are full of tears on the fields of the warrior. This stone, with all its moss, shall speak of other years." And again:

⁹² Lamentation for the dead is called, by the Irish, *keenning*; and in the Highlands of Scotland, they sing the *coronach* for the dead.

"A stone was raised on high to speak of future times, with its grey head of moss." In the lamentation of Fingal's death, we hear of "Six grey stones mark the green mound, where sleep the heroes in dust."

Lycurgus would not suffer the relations to inscribe any names upon the tombs, except of those men who fell in battle, or of those women who died in some sacred office. And, in fact, the legends on most tombstones of remote periods are inscribed with names utterly unknown, and form a certain type of the uncertainty of fame.

Now, in some parts of the Highlands of Scotland, it was the custom, in days of old, to pile over the stone coffin, kist, or chest, of a distinguished man, chieftain, or famous bard, the cairn, or heap of stones (*tuaim, tumulus*).⁹³ Cairns are still to be seen on the banks of the Brahan; and there is still a proverbial expression in the Highlands to this day: "Curri mi cloch er do charne," i.e., I shall add a stone to your cairn; that is to say, "I shall do your memory all the honour in my power when you are no more."

Ossian wishes that the bards should prepare his tomb, and lay him to the fair Evir-allen. It seems that the Romans, in particular, wished to chain themselves by a surviving memory on the world, in consequence of their wavering view of a future life.⁹⁴

⁹³ "Funerum nulla ambitio—sepulchrum cespes erigit." Tacit. de Mor. Germ. xxvii. "It is a custom still preserved among the Indians, to throw a stone or handful of earth upon the grave of the distinguished dead, as a tribute to their memory. The more these contributions, the higher the tumulus, which is thus gradually accumulated. By the Siamese, the body of the dead is carried in procession to some temple, where it is burnt. The bones are collected and placed in an urn, which remains in the family dwelling. The garb of mourning is white."—*Siam and the Siamese*, by Sir John Bowring. London, 1857.

⁹⁴ Sylla is said to have been the first Roman whose body was buried.

The Kelt gave place to the Roman, the Roman to the Ostrogoths (Wala-goth-ih) and Burgundians (Burgua-ih, Burgii, Burgundiones); the Burgundians to the Franco-Merovingians, whose king, Clothaire, chased them from the country of the Allobroges, A.D. 534.

All has disappeared, and every thing else has changed. Even the kings of Egypt, says a French writer, "n'ont pas osé graver sur leur pyramides toujours."⁹⁵

The present Allobroges go to mass, "présent du tabac de contrebande, et beuvent Kirsch de la Forêt Noire"; and the Veragri will soon be carried by the locomotive from the vale of the Rhone, through the tunnel of Menouve (3½ kilometers long), under Mount St. Bernard to the Val d'Osta. Some even suppose, that the lasses of the Salasi in the vale of the Doria were formerly more tidy, more active, and "moins goîtreuses" than now-a-days.⁹⁶ All this is a strange contrast to the unchanging face of nature. Bel-air is situated on the last undulating elevations of the Jorat, and thence, fertile countries extend themselves over hills and vales towards the bluish chain of the Jura, the Mons-Jovis, Mont-Joux (here still the Celtic Jou for Jupiter,⁹⁷ hence also Di-jou, jeu-di, Jovis dies, Thursday). In Brittany, Mont St. Michel, where the Sun (Belenus) was worshipped, also changed its name into Mont-Jan, Mont Jovis, where the Romans raised an altar to Jupiter. We are also reminded of the lofty conical mountains of Jura, in Scotland — of which two are named the Paps of Jura.

⁹⁵ "Do you know," once said a Montmorency to a Basque, "we date from a thousand years back!" "And we," replied the Basque, "have left off counting!" The borough of Montmorency was the ancient Mauroniacum.

⁹⁶ According to the latest investigations in the Canton Valais, there is one Crétin to every twenty-five inhabitants.

⁹⁷ Reminds one of the French town of Jouarre (Jovis ara).

A further prospect expands towards the extremity of the Leman, with its towns, woods and elevations. Then the Alps of Savoy, with Mont Blanc, dominating over the horizon of a long range and heights of mountains.

Best stehen die Berge in der Zeiten Wogen;
Den Silberscheitel beugt das Alter nicht.

The same hills arise, the same beautiful lake, the same sky looks down, as when this was inhabited by the individual whose grave we had just opened. Although one cannot help thinking, on such occasions, with sadness upon the fleeting generations of mankind, a sort of gratification arises in the mind from the recollection, that the priests of the great Keltic nation thought the immortality of the soul a recompense for virtue and a punishment for vice (Cæsar *B.G.* lib. vi.). Even the most learned of the Greeks confessed themselves to have received the rudiments of all sublime science from strangers, namely, from the priests of the Kelts. And Socrates mentions to Axiochus, tables of brass existing at Delos, which had inscriptions referring to the immortality of the soul, and which tables had been brought there by the Hyperboreans. When Abaris I. (i.e. High Priest), a Hyperborean, was on his travels in Greece, he collected everywhere gold, for the purpose of ornamenting the temple of Apollo in his native land, and, coming to Agrigentum, he learned that Pythagoras was imprisoned there by the tyrant Phalaris, on account of his doctrines. Abaris defended him, and endeavoured to shake the resolution of the tyrant by the thought of a future life. The Germans, under Ariovistus (Fragment of the Keltic Wars, by Appian, *Rom. Hist.* lib. iv.), are praised for the trust they put in reanimation after death, and Appian also observes, that this confidence gave them encouragement to run all hazards, and disregard death.

We were called away from the place of the dead to some enjoyment of the living — namely, supper was announced.⁹⁸ The father of M. Troyon had placed some old Vin d'Yvorne on the table, and with a smiling countenance invited us to partake of it. He was a tall handsome looking elderly gentleman. I thought I never saw a finer specimen of a man; he appeared to me, while standing in the midst of his family, like a patriarch of old; I permitted myself to give the following toast:—

„Die Großen lassen sich im Tode balsamiren,
Um desto länger tod zu sein
Wir aber balsamiren uns im Leben mit Wein,
Um desto länger lebendig zu sein.“

Cæsar tells us that, such men as those whose graves we had just visited, drank out of the horns of the aurochs (Ure-ox, Uri),⁹⁹ and that on their greatest festivals they used them as drinking cups. “In amplissimis epulis pro poculis utuntur” (D. Bell. Gal. lib. vi. c. 29).

In A.D. 743, cornua and cochleae were prohibited; but when three crosses were painted upon them, in that case the monks permitted their use. The English king, Wiglaf

⁹⁸ I could not refrain from thinking of a passage in the *Fortunes of Nigel*, when Monsieur le Chevalier Saint Priest de Beaujeu says, “Qu'est ce que nous avons à faire avec le temps passé? — the time passed did belong to our fathers — our ancêtres — the time present is to us — they have their pretty tombs, with their memories and armorials all in brass and marble — we have the petits plats exquis, and the soupe-à-chevalier, which I will cause to mount up immediately.”

⁹⁹ “Uri enim Gallica vox est, qua feri boves significantur” (Macrob. Saturnal. lib. vi. c. 4, p. 484, Lugduni. 1584). It appears that the Uri existed in Scotland, a skull of that animal was dug up at Moulin, and is still to be seen at the castle of Blair, says Campbell, in his *Journey through North Britain*.

(825 — 839), left his drinking horn to the monks, to drink out of it, at great festivals, to his memory. In A.D. 787, it was forbidden in Holcot (Northumberland), to celebrate the Eucharist with horn cups. In the castle of the late Lord Penrhyn, in Wales, there still exists the drinking horn, called "hirlas," of the hero Piers Gryffyd. It consists of a mighty ox-horn, and is mounted with silver, and suspended by a massive silver chain. An old song says

" Fill the Hirlas Horn, my boy,
Nor let the tuneful lips be dry,¹⁰⁰
That warble Owen's praise," etc.

It is singular, that no description of the eternal snow of the Alps, when tinged in the morning or evening with a rosy hue; of the beauty of the blue glacier ice, or of the grandeur of any part of the scenery of Switzerland, have reached us from the ancients, although statesmen and generals, with men of letters in their train, were constantly passing through Helvetia into Gaul. All these travellers think only of complaining of the badness of the roads; the romantic character of the country never seems to have engaged their attention. It is even known, that Julius Cæsar, when returning to his legions in Gaul, employed his time, while passing over the Alps, in preparing a grammatical treatise, "*De Analogia*."

¹⁰⁰ From the year 1801 to the year 1846, the people of Great Britain and Ireland spent £800,000,000 on spirits; £176,445,060, on wines; and £505,904,000, on malt liquor. The duty on the above articles, during forty-five years, amounted to £644,968,553.— *Statistics on the Consumption, etc., of ardent Spirits and Malt, in England, Scotland, and Ireland, from 1801 to 1846, by Dawson Burns.*

How the heart of any true Briton must rejoice who may happen to read this. He may confidently exclaim, another triumph gained! We have done the famous beer-drinkers of Bavaria—*done them brown!*

Silius Italicus, who died in the reign of Trajan, when Switzerland was already in great measure cultivated, describes the district of the Alps merely as an awful barren wilderness, although he elsewhere loves to dwell in verse on the rocky ravines of Italy, and the wood-fringed banks of the Liris.¹⁰¹

Ammianus Marcellinus, who was still alive A.D. 390, and who travelled through most parts of Switzerland in the suite of Julian, whilst yet Cæsar, is the first who gives an account of the fall of the Rhine. He speaks also of Aventicum, as a place at that time abandoned, but whose former greatness might be justly inferred from the large and extensive ruins that covered the site. Livy, speaking of the Alps, says: "*Nives coelo prope immistæ, tecta informia imposita rupibus, pecora jumentaue torrida frigore, homines intonsi et inculti, animalia inanimaque omnia rigentia gelu, omnia confragosa præruptaque.*"

"In many places of the Alpine land," says Dr. Tschudi (*das Thierleben der Alpenwelt*), "hollows or rocky vaults are numerous; and in the interior of some of these rocky dwellings, Roman and other ancient coins are found, as signs, that in former times, they were used as dwellings or hiding places."

Most of the oldest settlements about Lausanne, and on the lake, testify by their etymology, a Keltic origin. With regard to the name of Lausanne, I have formed the following opinion. By the name of *Lis*, *Leasa*, *Leos*, *Liys*, *Llys*, *Laus*, *Luss*, *Luz* (in the Pyrenees) and *Loss*,¹⁰² terms which occur in Ireland, Wales, and elsewhere, is understood, an earthen enclosure, a court, a palace, a house, strongly for-

¹⁰¹ *Liri*, in one of the various Keltic dialects, signifies *river*.

¹⁰² In the Rhetian and Provençal dialects, *Loss* remained in *Leug* and *Leuc*.

tified. Let us mention places as Lisburne, Liscarrol, Lisheard, Lismore,¹⁰³ Listowel. In Queen's County, there is also a district called Leix, or Leas. In Wales, we have Llys-Bradwen, the palace of Ednowain (Brawdwr-Llys means a judge of the court). At Aix-la-Chapelle, we have the Lausberg; in Canton Turgau, Lausenbüchel; and in Canton Basle, we have Liestal, which was formerly important by its strong situation in the Sissgau.

Others we have in Losheim, Losdorf, Lonsheim, Lusberg, and Losberg (in Wurtemberg). Hence this Lis or Lios, occurs as a high artificial entrenchment, surrounded and defended by outworks; it may also be considered nearly synonymous with Dun. The difference seems to be in the situation (artificial); and so, Lios-suna, Laosuna, Losonna,¹⁰⁴ signify the fortified town, where the sun, as at Geneva, was worshipped. It appears, also, that in the time of Cæsar, a fortified Keltic Dun, Lios-dun,¹⁰⁵ Lausodunum, existed already, situated on one of the slopes of Mont-jorat, and probably where the castle of Lausanne now stands.

The name of Lios-dun, or Losdun, may then be also, in some respects, compared to places where Castel is annexed to Dun, as we have it in Casteldun, Dunnis Castello, Duno-Castro (Chateaudun), etc. We may also mention the Allobrogian town of Losdunum, the present St. Loudun¹⁰⁶ (Department of Vienne), as well as the German town of Sun-dun (Sölden), and many other places, such as Sonnenberg, Sonnenfeld, Sonnenstein, etc., named in honour of

¹⁰³ In the fine valley of Lismore, a "Lis" — an old castle — is still to be seen, built on a precipitous rock, on the black water.

¹⁰⁴ Lus-na was the Etruscan spelling of the port, and town of Luna. It was entirely destroyed by the Normans in A.D. 857.

¹⁰⁵ The same affinity is found in the name Dunmore.

¹⁰⁶ Agathopolis (Italy), has also now-a-days the name of St. Agata.

the sun. Then, again, the Celtic Sul and Soul, Di-Sul, Day of the Sun (Sunday), Sollus likewise for light, and also the Teutonic Sunno the Sun. At Rome, the Sabinian Deity, Sol, was adored, appertaining primitively only to the Sabinian Gens Aurelia. His sanctuary was near the temple of Quirinus. The worship of the sun revived again in Rome after the death of Adrian, who abolished human sacrifices. Commodus himself sacrificed a man to Mithras. From about the time of Probus to Constantine the Great, the inscription, SOLI INVICTO COMITI, and similar expressions, relating to the worship of the sun, appear on coins. Here and there, in Southern Germany, altars and other stones have been found, having the inscription, SOLI INVICTO MITHRAE. To the Christians, our Saviour appeared as a spiritual sun, the Sol Novus, as the fathers of the church call him.

At the old Lausonna, there was certainly an altar consecrated to the sun (Soli Genio), which is testified by the following important inscription, found in 1739, at Vidy, the position occupied by that ancient town, and which is inserted in the inner wall of the Town Hall of Lausanne.

SOLI GENIO LVNAE
SACRVM EX VOTO
PRO SALVTE AVGVSTORVM P CLOD CORN
PRIMVS CVRATOR VIR
NOR LAVSSONNENSIVM II
IIIII VIR AVGVSTAL CCR
CONVENTVS HEL D S D.

It is a vow addressed to the sun, as tutelar genius¹⁰⁶ of

¹⁰⁶ The powers of nature, the Genii, were classed into benign and maleficent, into good and evil. It appears that, by this word genius, the ancients denoted a quality, a generative power; for the following words, which are all of one family, convey

Lausonna; and also to the moon, by Publius Clodius, of the family Cornelia, for the preservation of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius and L. Verus. This Clodius bears the title of first warden (*curator*) of the inhabitants of Lausonna; for the second time *Sextumvir Augustalis*. He had set up this monument at his own expense, and by the consent of the Helvetic Diet. This inscription corresponds with A.D. 161.¹⁰⁷ At the old Lausona, or Lausonium, a terra-cotta urn has also been found, with the inscription, FOR. BEL., which was explained *Forum Beliorum*.

Hard by Lausanne is still a more elevated spot than the castle, called Sauvbelin, or Bois de Sauvabelin, which is the Celtic Seve-Belin, Silva-Belini, Abelio, Apollo, Sol, Baal-Shamaim, Lord of heavens, namely, a forest formerly sacred to Belenus, and on which spot there still remains a wood. Many of those groves of the Celts were situated on hills,¹⁰⁸ in conspicuous positions, commanding a wide prospect opposite either to the plain country or to surrounding mountains, also on places which, by a bold mighty rock, or

this meaning, *genos*, *genesis*, *genus*, *gens*. There were the *genii* of places, towns, colonies, provinces, fountains, etc.; to them sacrifices were made on certain days in the year. On coins we read, *Genio Populi Romani*, *Genio Augusti*, *Genio Senatus*, *Genio Exercituum*, etc.

¹⁰⁷ Among the silver coins of the family Claudia, there is one which bears a similar name, P. CLODIUS. M. F. (*Marci Filius*), and represents the sun, the moon, and five planets. The period of the coin may be the time of Augustus. The British Museum possesses two specimens in gold; and gold coins of Roman families being generally extremely rare, seems to shew how much this family was honoured. In Rome, as I have already observed, the Sabinian Deity, Sol, was adored, appertaining primitively only to the Sabinian *Gens Aurelia*.

¹⁰⁸ The hills have been at all times the temples whereon rude faiths have piled up their altars, Poet, psalmist, and prophet, have found in them the truest symbols of God and His might.

groups of rocks, mysterious caverns, and cascades, produced a sentiment of holy awe, still strengthened by ancient and lofty trees. This reminds one of the cluster of ancient trees that remain on the secluded heights of Lebanon, celebrated by the poets of Israel as the trees of God.¹⁰⁹

The worship of Baal, or Bel, as the sun was called in the East, is probably of Chaldean origin, and was carried to the North and the West by the merchants and mariners of Sidon, Tyre, and Carthage. The Phœnicians made also of Baal, or Bel, a female deity, Baaloth, Baaltis,¹¹⁰ and Beltis (Baaltis as his sister).

The old idea in the East, of thinking the eternal Deity to be the first light, the primary elemental fire, led to the question, How can this Deity manifest himself otherwise but in the light of the sun? "Thou shalt call me no more Baali" (God of fire), Hos. ii. 16.

The Kelts had their sanctuaries in woods, as well as on high elevations. There they met in the open air, pouring forth their vows and their thanksgivings. In Scripture, we find, also, that when the King of Moab wanted to obtain an answer from God, he took Balaam the prophet, and brought

¹⁰⁹ We may likewise mention the famous oak grove of Masisia, and that of the temple of Apollo, in the Peloponnesus, which stood among plane trees. Under the oak of Moreh, at Shechem, and the oak of Mamre, at Hebron, an altar was built by Abraham.

¹¹⁰ Baron de Behr, in his "*Recherches sur l'Histoire des Temps Héroïques de la Grèce*," Paris, 1856, p. 260, observes, that when the present inhabitants of Erdek, of the old Phœnician colony, have need of a block of marble, to serve as a bench, or as a threshold of a door, they go to seek it in that, which they call the ruins of Baaltis. Hence the memory of an Assyrian divinity has survived that of the commercial metropolis of Greece.

him to the height of Baal. Also, Hosea (iv. 13) says, "They sacrifice on the tops of the mountains, and burn incense upon the hills, under oaks, because the shadow thereof is good." And again (1 Kings, xviii. 19), "Now therefore send, and gather to me all Israel, unto mount Carmel, and the prophets of Baal four hundred and fifty, and the prophets of the groves four hundred."

There are villages of the name of Belmont (Beli-monte); one about Lausanne, the other near Yverdon, of which the Latin acts have *Bellus-mons*. In Shropshire, is a round insulated rock, called the *Belin Mount*; and in Scotland, the *Ben-Grian* (*Grian*, the sun, *Apollo*). According to an inscription,¹¹¹ *Belenus* was worshipped near *Riom*, on *Mons Belenatensis*; and among the people of *Gallia Aquitania*, *Pliny* mentions the *Belindi*, and their capital, *Belinum* (*Belin*, a small town in the district of *Bordeaux*), as worshipping *Belenus*. The *Marquis of Lagoy* has published coins of the *Belindi*, which show the head of *Apollo*; and on the reverse, appears a galloping horse, and the inscription *BELINOC*. The symbol of the horse is connected with the worship of the sun. *Herodotus* (i. 42) informs us, that the *Scythians* sacrificed horses to their gods; and the *Persians*, likewise, sacrificed horses to the sun. I may yet observe, that a priest is still called by the *Bretons* "*Belech*" (*Balak*, *Bel*). The *Irish* had, also, *Beal*, for the sun.

At the great cataract, at *Schaffhausen*, horses were sacrificed — generally those of conquered enemies; and horse-shoes have been found in the clefts of the rocks, which still remain at the great fall. In *England*, the *Vale of the White Horse* had a *Cromlech*; and it was only at

¹¹¹ Published by *Simeoni*. See also, *D. Martin*, *Relig. de Gaulois*, liv. ii., c. 22.

the time of William the Conqueror, that the White Horse of the Britons gave place to the Lion standard. Penant, in his "Tour in Wales" (ii. p. 336), mentions a Holy Well, at which the British Mars had his offerings of horses.

With regard to the present town of Lausanne (Lausodunum), it derived its name from Losona (Lausonio, Lausanium), a town of a very remote period, which stood beyond Montbenon (scarcely two miles west of the present Lausanne, twenty Roman miles from Equestris Nion), in the plain of Vidy (Vuidi), near the borders of the lake. The foundations of buildings, and various remains, as coins, small bronze statues, etc., that have been discovered on the site of the old town of Lausanne, namely, about the village of Vidy, and elsewhere in the vicinity, all indicate an opulent town.

Many of these antiquities are preserved in the Cantonal Museum at Lausanne. The remains of a Roman road are also observable, still bearing the name of Estras (via strata), leading towards Ouchy¹¹² and Vevey. It was situated on the great Roman road from Octodurum to Geneva, namely, from Octodurum to Agaunum (Tarnais), Pennolucus, Vivisco, ad Lacum Lausonium (Arpentin?), Noviodunum (Equestribus), to Geneva. The former Lausonium, or Losona, occurs, however, under the still more ancient Keltic name of Arpentin, which name may then refer, in my opinion, to its situation. It is well known, that the Kelts, and other early inhabitants of Europe, as well as in other parts of the world, gave names to places according to their situations, gene-

¹¹² In the Pas de Calais, there are several small towns of the name of Auchy, the Keltic Alciniacum. In the name of the little town of Coppet, near Geneva, we have the Keltic Kop (Kimri), which means a head, or the top of a thing, top of a hill. Cupola the old French Cope. In Keltic, Kuff means also, sometimes, a hill.

rally alluding to water, to the sea, to lakes, rivers, mountains, or rocks, fountains, etc.

When one of the Libyan tribes settled around the world-famed fountain of Cyre, about B.C. 650, they returned thanks to the god (Apollo) under whose auspices they had found a new home in the midst of a fertile tract, where they founded Cyrene, which became the capital of the country.

Among the Kelts, everything is indicative of the most simple manners. The cares of men were few; whatever was beyond the necessities of life, was known to them only as spoil: "the gold of the stranger," "the light of the stranger," "the steeds of the stranger," etc.

Suppose, in the name of Arpentin (Losona), we have the *ar* as the preposition for near (by the Romans, *ad*); *ar-avern*, near the elevation (the Avernus); *ar-avena*, near the water (Ravenna); *ar-mor*, Armorica, the land on the North (the Gallic) Sea.¹¹³ In Ireland, we have *Ar-magh*. *Ar-aveitu*, in the Umbrian dialect,¹¹⁴ signifies, to bring towards, to bring near. Then, we have *pen* for hill, elevation; and *tin* for town, and so rendered into Arpentine, namely, the town situated near the hill or elevation (Montbenon).

In the Alps of Savoy is a cascade of the name of Arpenaz, and I remember having seen somewhere the name of Ar-penas given to a cascade in the Highlands of Scotland. The Itinerary gives the name of a town, which existed near

¹¹³ We may here compare the Slavonic *po-mor*, Pomerania.

¹¹⁴ The Umbrians are mentioned as a Gallic race. "Umbroni quaedam gens Gallica" (sic Pompon. Fest. i.). "Umbri Italiae gens est, sed Gallorum veterum propago" (Isodor. Origin. lib. ix., cap. 2). Ombri, Ombriki, by which the Romans and Greeks designated this people, is said to be from a Gaelic word, *ombra*, or *ambra*, which means brave.

Augusta Rauracorum (Augst), in some respects similar, namely, Artalbinum, Art-al-benn (on the high elevation). Others we have in Amberg, Arberg, Arelat (Ar-Llaeth, marshy, the town on the marsh), Armorica (Ar-mor, on the sea), etc. By the Kelts, the summit of a mountain was generally named Pen, Penne, Pin, and Pinne, from hence the Latin Pennæ, Pinna, Pinnaculum. In Spanish, we have still the Peña de el Cid, the rock of the Cid; in Wales, the Penn-rhyn, Pen-caer; and in Cornwall, the Penn-Dcn-nis (Pen-mark means the head of a horse). In names of families, occurs Penn-Davis, Penn-Nennt, etc. In time, the name of Arpentine was changed into Losun (Lausonna, Losane-lacus, Lacus-Lausonnete), and it appears to have been, for a long time, one of the most considerable towns on the borders of the lake. According to the Chronicle of the Pays de Vaud, it was for a time the capital of the Helvetii. Many such singular changes in the names of ancient cities appear in all countries. In Italy, we have it, for instance, in Agylla, which was transformed into Caere, Felsina into Bononia, Kamars¹¹⁵ into Clusium, etc. Also, the Saxons in Britain gave new names to those places, or altered those, which, in their language, were unintelligible. In Ireland, we have the primitive name of Waterford as Cuan-na-Grian (Harbour of the Sun) changed into Gleanna-Gleodh, i.e., Valley of Lamentation (from a great defeat from the Danes). The word Granus (Apollo), which we

¹¹⁵ It appears to me that the four brass coins (quadrans) published by Carelli (Edit. Caredoni Lipsiae, 1856), and which he places among Campania incerti, belong to Kamars (Carelli, however, in p. 4, alludes to that name). These coins are inscribed KAM., and represent a pig. I may here observe, that, according to Herodotus (ii. 47), a pig was sacrificed to the moon by the Egyptians, at a festival held at the full moon; and the Arabs have still the word Kamar for the moon.

observe in the primitive name of Waterford, we trace also in the ancient name of Aix la Chapelle, "*Aquis Granum*," where the hot springs, as at Aix in Savoy, "*Aquis Gratiæ*," were consecrated to that great luminary. In Ireland, the name of Gran, Grian for the sun (associated with star worship), we trace in names of ancient buildings; for instance, we have it in the primitive name of Clare, *Altair-na-Greine*, i.e., the Altar of the Sun.¹¹⁶

Granard, a town in the county of Longford, is composed of "*Grian*," the sun, and "*ard*," on high. There is also a Loch-Greine, and Ben Grianan in Scotland, as likewise between the districts of Badenoch and Strathspey (county of Inverness) there is a very extensive and barren heath, through which the river Spey runs. On this heath, many Druidical circles of stone are still to be seen entire. The name of the heath is *Slia-ghrannas*, i.e., Heath of Granus. At Inverness, an altar had also been found, dedicated to Apollo Granus; at Aix la Chapelle, an old tower bears still the name of Granus Tower.

On the lower Rhine, a tribe of the Catti had a holy grove, sacred to the sun, which they called Grinnes.¹¹⁷ Sometimes the name of Apollo occurs also in the appellation of *Cra-neüs*, probably here the Irish "*Grian-uisg*," i.e., River of the Sun (*Granicus*). The most solemn oath of the Gael was by the sun; of their women, by the moon: "And all the chiefs of Ib-Er, and all the Gael raised their right hands, and swore by the sun, invoking the name of Ith. And all the matrons, and all the maidens, lifted up their hands, and they swore by the moon and stars; and all swore to go to the land of Ith's wounds, and take vengeance for

¹¹⁶ Grana, in Italian and Spanish, signifies cochineal, scarlet.

¹¹⁷ Perhaps the name of the Isle of Grain, in the Medway, with its little old village church, may allude to the same meaning.

his death" (Chronicles of Gael-ag). In O'Flaherty's curious, though rather eccentric work, "Ogygia," I found an interesting passage (vol. ii. pt. 3, p. 119) which appears to refer to Ith, who was killed by King Breas, and that Ochy Optach, the son of Ith, avenged his father's death, by slaying King Breas, at Carnconluain, and that he succeeded him. In another passage, it appears that Ith had commenced a dynasty. It says, "King Forby, the son of Finn, of the line of Ith." But the custom of swearing by the sun and the moon, we find was practised in Assyria, in the eighth century before Christ. To those who place the construction of the greater number of the round towers in a remote period of Ireland's halcyon days, and also understand the "bearla Feni," to those the following observations may be interesting. In the cuneiform inscriptions on one of the great bulls, which stood before the palace of King Sargon (Balpatis-assur, king of Babylon, B.C. 709 to 704), at Khorsabad (Kirsi-Sargon), and which is now in the, Louvre, Dr. Oppert¹¹⁸ reads, "He who attacks the works of my hands, who effaces my sculptures, who carries off the jars containing my riches, who strips my treasure—may the moon (Sin), the sun (Samas), AO (the god of light,¹¹⁹ Saturn), and the gods which inhabit the heart of this man, exterminate in this land his name and his race, and may adversity place him in the hands of his enemy." Another inscription says, "May the Sun, the great arbiter of heaven and on earth, judge according to the measure of his justice, may he overtake him in the very act (of stripping the

¹¹⁸ Chronologie des Assyriens et des Babyloniens. Extrait d'un rapport au Ministre de l'Instruction Public. Paris, Mai, 1856, p. 39, 41.

¹¹⁹ This name of AO, as god of light, suggests to me, that I may refer reverently to the words of our Saviour, "I am the Alpha and the Omega" (Rev. i. 11).

treasures, etc.), may Sin (the moon), Nannarou (the luminous), who inhabits the heavens of images (zodiac), the most powerful agitator, oppress him with fatigue in the season of the Hyades (vernal equinox), may he make him shake with cold at the extremity of his town, in the season of the capricorn (autumnal equinox)."

The remains which were yet habitable of the old Losuna, spared by the barbarians, were destroyed during the great physical calamity of A.D. 563, when the rest of the few inhabitants who had time to escape, emigrated to the elevation of Lausodunum. Bishop Marius mentions in his chronicle in the following manner, this dreadful calamity, occasioned by the fall of a mountain (les roches de Meilleraie: *mal*, a rock, a stone) into the upper part of the lake. "Ad annum, 563. Mons validus Tauredunensis in territorio Valensi ita subito ruit, ut Castrum, cui vicinus erat, et vicos cum omnibus ibidem habitantibus oppressisset, et lacum in longitudine LX. milium, ad latitudine XX. milium ita totum movit, ut egressus utraque ripa vicos antiquissimos cum hominibus et pecoribus vastasset, etiam multa sacrosancta loca cum eis servientibus demolisset, et pontem Genevacum, molendinas et homines per vim dejecit, et Geneva civitate ingressus plures homines interfecit."

This reminds one of a passage in the Chronicles of Gael-ag (i. 7): "And all that went forth from Mahg-sean-ar (i. e., the old desolated town of the forefathers), dwelled in Ard-mionn (the summit of the height); and Ard-fear (chief of the people), ruled that land as aforetime, but in person."

It is curious, also, that in the ancient Persian language, *art*, or *arta*, signifies high, great; *Arta-Xerxes*, the great king. In Sanscrit, the word *artha* bears the same sense as in Persian, indicating height, loftiness; and reminds one, likewise, of the Irish *Ard-Riagh*, chief monarch (*reg*, to judge; *Regs*, *Rex*, *Raja*).

This meaning may also be found in the name of the Ardennes (Ard-Enna, the high mountainous land, forest). *Arda*, in Irish, high, haughty. *Aruin*, in Gaelic, means a forest. In the life of St. Remalcus, who went into the forest of the Ardennes, in the time of King Childebert, about A.D. 570, they were called "Arduennan¹²⁰ sylvam paludibus et montibus impeditam." Under the name of Arduina, we have also a Keltic divinity of the Treviri (Diane Gaulois), Artemis, Luna, Hecate. Near Sion, in the Valais, is the old village of Ardon¹²¹ (Arдона, Ardonium); it is situated high on the Rhone. There is also the small town of Art (Arta¹²²), situated between the two mountains, the Rigi (Regius mons, Regina montium) and the Rossberg. In the Highlands of Scotland, we have Loch-ard, and a place called Ardnamurchan; and the mountain of Dochart, which towers in lofty grandeur above Loch Tay, as well as Bein-Ardlanich, 3,000 feet above the sea. In some of the highest passes of the Alps (Summæ Alpes), we have the Gott-ardh—*art* having been Germanised into *hart*¹²³—where (at Mons Jovis), according to Cæsar (de B. G. lib. iii., p. 56; Venet. 1605, 8vo.), the Taurici worshipped the sun.

Hence, the name of *Gotard*, signifies God (adored) on the summit. *God-ardh*,¹²⁴ which corresponds to Jupiter-Penninus¹²⁵ (Poenus, Pennus, Pen), and to the Latin *sum-*

¹²⁰ Ardu (Punica Maltese), the end of a summit.

¹²¹ In Ireland, we have a mountain called Donard.

¹²² Artabriga, in Spain.

¹²³ Probably referring also to the Hartz mountains.

¹²⁴ Here, again, the Irish "Ard-Riagh," chief monarch. Ard-magh, is the Metropolitan See of Ireland. In the Isle of Man, is seen a large stone, supposed to have been erected as a monument to an early king of the Isle of Man. It is called "Goddard Covan's Stone."

¹²⁵ Iovi Apenio (Muratori, viii. 5). Iovi Vesuvius (Muratori x. 11).

mus, which means the Great St. Bernard (Summus Penninus), where the Veragri worshipped Hercules; *bern-ard*, great man.¹²⁶ We may here allude to Mount Donard, Dunard (Mourne mountains in Ireland), about 3,000 feet high, and on which, likewise, a St. Donard, disciple of St. Patrick, lived as a hermit, and built, towards the close of the fifth century, an oratory on the top of it.

Livy says:¹²⁷ "Neque Hercule montibus his a transitu Poenorum ullo Veragri incola jugi ejus nomen inditum norunt, sed ab eo, quem in summo sacratum vertice Penninum montani appellant." M. Martin¹²⁸ gives an inscription, found at the great St. Bernard, which reads, "Lucilius Deo Pennino. O. M. donum dedit." It is interesting, that Polybius¹²⁹ mentions a people, which he calls "Ardyes-Galli," who lived about the pass of the Furká (from Martigny to Chamounix). The most ancient name of Martigny (Martiniacum), was Octodurum, and appears to me, to have been derived from the Keltic words *Og*, *Ogh-min*, the Keltic Hercules, chief of the heroes;¹³⁰ and *Dur*, for water.¹³¹ We learn from Lucian, that this *Ogh-min*'s attributes were similar to those of Hercules (*Ogo-sacer*, consecrated to Hercules). Here we are reminded of *Og*, king of Bashan, who was of the race of giants (Josh. xii. 4). A similar application appears in the Phœnician deity, *Okh*, or *Och* — by the Greek writers called *Okos* (*Og-minos*) — who, with his children, was considered a founder of colonies, which, in a figurative style, were called his daughters.

¹²⁶ We have an Irish king, whose name is "Bern-gal."

¹²⁷ Livy, lib. xxi., cap. 38. Also, Pliny, iii. 17.

¹²⁸ Relig. des Gaulois, vol. ii., p. 402.

¹²⁹ Lib. iii., c. 47.

¹³⁰ In old French, *ogre* means a wild man; and the English have a proverb, "He eats like an ogre, like a Gaul."

¹³¹ In the Indian dialect of Brahui, water is called *dîr*.

Hercules, as tutelary deity of Tyre and her colonies, the Melkarth, Melek-Heracles, whose power principally depended on commerce, became a god of commerce, a mixed Keltic divinity of Hercules and Mercury, by the name of Og-min. The twofold character of Hercules, as a god and as a hero, is acknowledged even by Herodotus.

The name of Ogyges has been preserved to us as that of the most ancient colony which came and established itself in Attica.¹³² Hence, Och-o-dur, or Octodurum,¹³³ signifies, the habitation, the town on the water, on the source consecrated to Hercules, similar to Aquis-Granum, the spring of Apollo (Aix la Chapelle), and others, like Aquæ Solis, the ancient name of Bath. Moreover, we have Solonacum, Solonaco, Solodurum, etc. The sacredness of sources and

¹³² In the excellent critique of the distinguished M. Anatole Barthélemy, on the valuable work of the late M. Duchalais, "Description des Médailles Gauloises," I found the following observation on this Keltic divinity of Og-mi (Revue. Numismat. 1847, p. 159):—

"Il nous semble que le mythe d'Albaris vient jeter une certaine lumière sur un passage de Lucien qui jusqu'à ce jour a dû paraître d'autant plus bizarre que rien dans les Gaules ne nous a encore fait soupçonner quelque divinité qui rappellât celle que le philosophe grec dépeint sous les traits d'Hercule Ogminos (Lucien Herc. i., et 3; Amm. Marcl., xv. 9; Pomp. Mela, ii. 5; Plin. H.N. iii., v. 4). A nos yeux Ogminos, dieu de l'éloquence, entraînant ses auditeurs avec les chaînes, qui s'attachent à ses Lèvres, Ogminos armé d'un arc, un carquois sur l'épaule, doit être le même personnage qu' Abaris (Abæus, surname of Apollo), d'ont le carquois et l'arc scythes avaient aussi attiré l'attention des Grecs. Comme Apollon, Hercule combattant Géryon dans la péninsule Ibérique se confond avec le soleil; remarquons encore que Ogminos se rapproche de ὄγμος qui est quelquefois synonyme de ὄδος et qu' ainsi Hercule Ogminos pourrait fort bien n'être qu' Hercule voyageur, ce qui est une ressemblance de plus avec Abaris."

¹³³ Ptolemy gives also an Octodurum in Hisp. Tarraconensis. The former name of the town of Youghall, in Ireland, was Ochella.

springs, is unquestionably a universal feature in the character of all early mythology,¹³⁴ from the Indus to the Nile, from the Parnassian source of Alpheus to that of the Tiber, or the Apennines. In fact, the worship of rivers, brooks, and springs, lasted until towards the sixteenth century. The Abbey of Belle-Fontaine, near Beaupreux (Maine and Loire) is built over a holy well, which is yet supposed to maintain to this day, as in antiquity, its efficacy. Many convents in France have been named after springs sacred in the time of the Druids. The Keltic deity, Borvo Tomona, left his name to Bourbonne les Baines. Some lakes in the Highlands of Scotland are, according to popular tradition, still haunted by the Elfin people (Else, Ilse, Ailse, Aillse-næ).

“Where nymphs from hollow oaks relate,
The dark decree and will of fate.”

Christianity transferred the healing power of springs of wells to her saints. The well of St. Ælian, in Wales (Caernarvonshire), has been in great repute for cures of all diseases, by means of the intercession of the saint. In Ireland, the name of a Cistercian monastery is Melli-font, and at Dublin we have the St. Patrick's Well. Ogmin was also considered as a deity of eloquence, and named in an old Irish codex as the inventor of writing, Ogma, Ogma-Grianan (Oggam, a species of old Irish character). The Greeks, by the expression “Ogygian times,” meant the epoch of their most ancient traditions, as we now say “The Biblical times.” Statues of Ogmin were represented sometimes gilt, sometimes, according to circumstances, only

¹³⁴ *Odyssey* (xvii. 211), and Tacitus (*de Moribus Germanorum*, c. 16), observes: “Colunt diversi ac discreti, ut campus, ut Fons, ut nemus placuit.”

painted yellow—applicable to the sun. By the ancient Egyptians, saffron was called the blood of Hercules. At an early Roman period, the idol of Jupiter, at the Capitol, was painted red on holy days. In the old Christian symbolism, our Saviour is generally painted in a red garment, symbolical of dignity as well as red being the colour of fire. To the early Christians, Christ was a spiritual sun, the "*Sol Novus*," the Sun of Righteousness, as the fathers of the Church call him, and is sometimes symbolized by a lamp or candle, as "*the Light of the World*" (John ix. 5).

Even as late as A.D. 612, the eminent Irish converters of the Swiss from Paganism, St. Columbanus (†. 615) and St. Gallus (†. 640), found near Bregenz three idols of gilt bronze, which were in particular veneration. And on the Lake of Zürich, St. Gallus met with similar idols, to which offerings were made, and whose figures he broke, and cast into the lake¹³⁵

In the collection of the late Mr. Woodburn, of London, I saw, some years ago, a bronze gilt figure (life-size, it might be Apollo), which, in my humble opinion, belonged to that kind of Romano-Keltic idols, and is probably the only one still in existence. It was found in France, and is now in the Louvre. In Rome, a colossal statue of Nero (111 feet in height) was made by the brass-founder, Zenodorus; this statue was consecrated to the sun, in A.D. 75.

Mention is made of the restoration of a temple of Belesus, in the third century, which had a gilt statue. This temple stood at the old town of Julium Carnicum (Noricum).¹³⁶ From the country of the Kelts, which was sacred

¹³⁵ It appears that in Ireland, St. Patrick had done the same; he pulled down a brazen idol, which was standing near the river Gothard; and so it appears he did at Cashel, the seat of the Kings of Munster.

¹³⁶ Muchar, *Das römische Noricum* ii. p. 268.

to Apollo (Galeus, son of Apollo), votive presents were sent to Delos, where the Hyperborean Apollo was worshipped, and whose temple was spared by Xerxes,¹³⁷ (480 B.C.) and who, according to the assertion of the Greeks, sacrificed several times to the sun. The last account we have of these embassies, of which history still makes mention, came from the utmost North, from Scandia, i.e., Land of the Sun; according to Pliny, "Solin," Apollonius Rhodius gives it as the Land of the Sun.

The name of the town of Octodurum has been, at a later Kelto-Germanic period, transformed into Martiniacum; Ochmin being changed into Mars (Dies Martis, Martin) and *dur* into *ac*, hence Martinac. (The Romans assimilated Ogminus to Mercury). The third and present appellation, Martigny, dates from the invasion of the Burgundians, who changed the *ac* into *ay*, like Tourniac into Tourigny, Ambroniacum into Ambronay, Cartiniac, Cartigny, and Ageium into Ay. A temple of Mars, which formerly stood at the town of Verwick, in Flanders, was replaced by a church of St. Martin; there are also the "Pierres-Martin."¹³⁸ The town of Famars, near Valenciennes, was a Fanum Martis, and so St. Maux, a village in Lorraine, where stood a temple of Mars.¹³⁹ It appears also, that by some Keltic tribes, Mars was often confounded with the sun, and that the divinity by the name of Belatucadrus was at the same time the sun and the god of battles.

Every nation has her heroes, which, in many points accord, if masculine power becomes ideal and symbolised.

The Ochmin being changed into Mars, puts it out of the

¹³⁷ Herod. vi. 97. 118.

¹³⁸ Tailliar, *Essay sur l'Histoire des Institutions du Nord de la France*, p. 211, Douai, 1852.

¹³⁹ Beaulieu, *Archéologie de la Lorraine*, vol. i. p. 139. Paris, 1846.

question to suppose that the etymology of Octodurum means the site of the eight waters, or rivers, as in the names of the towns of Sebendunum, or Bedunia, which may refer to the seven, or to the two heights, or hills. On a large brass coin of Vespasian, we observed the personified Roma, seated on seven hills. In Perthshire we have the Ochil Hills; and, I believe, the word Ochiltree signifies the high hamlet or dwelling.

The worship of Hercules appears to have been introduced into Gaul by the Phoenicians: and here one may allude to an affinity of the Etruscan myth, to that of the Phoenicians; and also observe, that the famous Hercules-road over the Alps (Summus Poeninus) the Great St. Bernard, which was used from a time older than any historical records, is a Phoenician one,¹⁴⁰ passed and repassed by merchants and travellers, and where Jupiter Poeninus was worshipped (Lucus Poeninus) Julius Cæsar punished some of the Veragri and Seduni, who lived thereabout, and had disturbed the traffic by brigandage (de B. G. iii. 1—3). In the year 57, B.C., Cæsar ameliorated the roads over the Alps, to facilitate the commerce.

In the name of Lacus Lemanus, we have the Keltic Loch-le-aman, the lake of current waters (Ar-naman, the ravaging river), reminds one of Loch-na-n Gasan, in Ireland, i. e., the Lake of Springs.¹⁴¹ We have, also, the Lemanus Portus, which is Lymne, near Hythe.

¹⁴⁰ Shewing the presence of these enterprising mercantile people of the old world, in Gallia, Cis and Transalpina, M. Thierry (Hist. des Gaulois) also observes, that the communication from Spain to Italy, by the Romans, the Aurelian and Domitian roads, had evidently been founded upon passes of the Phoenicians. I have also seen it stated somewhere, that the Phoenicians introduced the cultivation of the vine into the south of France.

¹⁴¹ It is stated, that in the time of King Æeneas, many people were employed in cutting down a great deal of wood; in consequence of which, several lakes appeared, or formed themselves, and among them was Loch-Gasan (Loch-na-n Gasan).

Ausonius calls the Lemanus the source of the Rhone : "qua rapitur princeps Rhodanus Genitore Lemano." In olden times, people believed that the Rhone (Rhodanus, Rhedeg, Redecq, running with rapidity, Rho-dan¹⁴²) was not absorbed by the waters of the lake, and continued to run directly through the lake to the opposite end of Geneva, where it again reappears. Homer mentions a similar occurrence of the river Titarésios (Ilias ii. 750) ; and I recollect having read, that in Wales exists also the belief, that the river Dee runs through the lake of Bala, unmixed with its waters.

Towards the borders of the Lacus Lemanus, we encounter Kelto-Germanic terminations of the liquid element in *ac* and *ag* (*aha*, *aches*), namely, in Lustriacum (Lutry), Polliacum (Beleno aquæ — it is, now-a-days, Pully), Corsiacum (Corsier, near Vevey), Culiacum (Cully), Luliacum (Lully), Modernacum (Mornay), Bactiacum (Bex¹⁴³), and Agaunum (St. Maurice, Monasterii Agaunensis). On the Rætian frontier, we have also an Agaunum (Inichen), on the river Drau (Dravus), and similar idioms we encounter in France and Germany. In Ireland, I may mention Corc-ach, the city of Cork, surrounded by the river Lee. The ancient Irish called the harbour Beal-ach, Conliach.

In Welsh, the sea is called Aig. However, in the name of Vevey, Vibiscum, Bibiscum, Vivicum, and its inhabitants, the Vibisci, we observe another of the so frequent Keltic word, Uisge, Uisk, and Ûis ; which was, in the course of time, transformed into Aesch, Asch, Asq, and

¹⁴² Reminds one of the names of the rivers Rhadamanthos and Acheron, in the kingdom of Pluto.

¹⁴³ Bay, Beium, Baja, — Bayonne, Beke; and in the Gaelic, *bád*h, *bag*h, signifies an inlet, a bay. We have also the town of Bagacum (Bavay).

Aix. We have, also, the Bituriges Vivisci, on the Garonne ; the Uisippi (Usipedes), who lived near the hot wells of Wiesbaden¹⁴⁴ (Aquæ Mattiacæ).

Wo Söhne der Ratten und Römer,
Einst Genesung geschöpft, quillt noch heilende Kraft.¹⁴⁵
Kochend sprudelt der Born, aus tiefen vulcanischen Klüften,
Wo das Leben beginnt, hüllt die Natur sich in Nacht.

Martial (xiv. 27) recommends the soap balls made by the people of Wiesbaden (pilas Mattiacas) to ladies of a certain age (which, of all ages, according to Byron, most uncertain is), much as, now-a-days, the oil of Macassar is recommended.

Part of the name of Wiesbaden may have been derived from the Keltic Üis, the lively, the moving element, water. In Scotland, we have a mountain called Ben-vish, which harbours snow throughout the year. One might perhaps here allude also to the words of Hosea (ii. 16), "Thou shalt call me Ishi, and shalt call me no more Baali" (god of fire). And again, "My people have forsaken me, the fountain of living waters" (Jer. ii. 13). In Vishnu, among the Indians, we have water as a first element of all things.

There were also the Istævoni, near the Rhine, and the Danube appears as Ister, i.e., water, Istria, waterland (tir, terra, land). We may as well also mention the celebrated

¹⁴⁴ Mancher der es nicht gedacht,
Hat dort schon sein Glück gemacht ;
Denn es führen oft die Lahmen
Fort die aller schönsten Damen !

¹⁴⁵ But mineral waters ought not to be made use of as a cure, without proper medical advice, as it may become dangerous. On an old grave-stone in the churchyard of a fashionable watering-place in England, we read —

"Here lie my wife and two daughters.
Is this your cure? G . . . d . . . n your waters."

watering place, Ischl, in the Styrian Alps. It is curious that the mighty flood, the "Mississippi," signifies "Father of Water."

In the Guiana language (South America) "Wunni-bishi" means a small river.

Some kind reader may perhaps, now and then, smile at my far-fetched comparisons; but if we accept, that the different races of mankind sprung from one pair, why should not the different languages have been derived from a primitive one. "The human language," says Professor Müller, in Art. vii. Oxford Essays, 1856, "forms an uninterrupted chain from the first dawn of history down to our own time." We have the words father, mother, sister, and daughter, given in parallel columns in Sanscrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Gothic, Slavonic, and Irish.¹⁴⁶

Let us resume again our inquiries into the Keltic settlements on the Lake of Geneva. In the time of Augustus, when the Roman power had already spread out in Helvetia, Vevey, Mouton, and Avenches, had become places of some importance, on account of their situation on the high road over the Summus Penninus from Italy to Germany.

The Roman Penno-Lucus (Ville-neuve), on the Leman, alludes to its situation, namely, on the head of the lake (*pen* or *ben* means also a head), as we have it in a similar meaning at a place called Pen-Llyn, on the Lake of Bala, in Wales; Pencinwyd, a chief huntsman. In the Tyrol, Lueg signifies a lofty mountain; and Lugu, in Brittany, means a tower: Lucas (Lucus Augusti) may be of similar origin. During the time of the Burgundian occupation of parts of Switzerland,

¹⁴⁶ I have, myself, noticed in the Guiana language (South America) *Abba*, is father; *Amma*, mother; *Papa-aejeveni*, grand-father. In some Indian dialects (Brahui and Tamil), we have *Umma* and *Amma* for mother, *A-pa* for father.

some places did change the termination of *ac* or *ag* into *ay*, as in Cosonay, Blonay, Arnay, Poligny (Poliniac, Apolini aquæ), Martigny (Martiniac), and Coloniacum into Coligny. In Scotland, we may mention the village of Eyemouth, near the sea-shore. Perhaps we may also allude to Guerns-ey, Orken-ey, and whoever may have been near the shore of the Red Sea, may recollect the name and place of "Ain-Moussa," i.e., the Fountain of Moses. In other places, the Franks have changed the *ac* into *ax* and *air*.

The termination of places in *Dun* or *Tun* (for, in compound words, it was written both ways) is very frequent. The primitive Romans also named their towns only *Montani*,¹⁴⁷ which may be compared to *Dunum*, the town of Down, in Ireland, to *Dun-Tay* (Dundee), on the river Tay; the Swiss town of Thun, where *Lacus Tunensis* was yet called, in the eighth century, *Dunensis*.¹⁴⁸ Hill alone, used in the Psalms, figuratively signifies sometimes the Temple, or the high place where the Deity was worshipped, "That God did make His residence on hills." Even now-a-days, "Monte della Citta" is usually given in Italy to sites formerly occupied by cities. And so the Greek *Pyr-gos*, the German *Burg*, the Briga of the Spaniards, the *Arx* in Latin, etc., all signify the top of a hill, as well as in later times, a town, or castle, in the plain, such as we observe in the Italian *Rocca*, a castle, a fortified place.

"L'anno 1435, Sigismondo (Malatesta), comincio in Rimini la fabrica della Rocca, che fu chiamata castel Sigismondo, colla dove era il palazzo vecchio."¹⁴⁹ In fact, Casa,

¹⁴⁷ Bunsen, *Descript. of Rome*, vol. i. p. 34.

¹⁴⁸ *Fredegari Scholastici Chron.*, p. 420. *Eo anno (iv. regni Theuderic) aqua caldissima in Lacu Dunensis, quem Arula flumen influit, etc.* The Gothic was "idun" for dun.

¹⁴⁹ Sansovino della *Origine et de Fatti delle famiglie illustri d'Italia*. Venezia, 1582, p. 234.

Castrum, conveys again the idea of enclosure and protection. Cassis, in the Etruscan language, signifies a helmet, so likewise Castris, or Castris-ager is an enclosed field, like the old English *town*. Dun, is allusive likewise to the Keltic *Dan* and *Don*, which signifies high,¹⁵⁰ as well as *al* and *el* (Alps, Al-pen¹⁵¹), as we have it in Eliburga, Eliburga, which, in Irish, signifies the high, the mighty town. This *dan* and *don*, reminds one also of the German "Tanne," the high fir or pine tree. The *al*, *el*, *tall*, *tell*, may have been understood in the sense of tall, as well as mighty, strong; we have only to allude to the torrent, "Talla," in the Highlands of Scotland, which, with great fury, dashes over a number of small cascades, and there, the spot is called "Talla-Linns" (lin, a pool, a lake, a channel), and the *tell* remind us of William Tell, which is merely the tall, or the strong William, and hence, of course, the several Tell's or Töll's in the traditions of some northern countries.

Und Wilhelm Telle Freiheits-Gut
Sangt menge Tropfe Schwitzblut.

In the ancient language of Scotland, Alp, or Alb, signifies, also, an eminence. The Highlanders are still accustomed to call the country they inhabit "Alabin," or Alpin; and their own language they denominate "Gælic-Alabinish." There are, also, some wild hills called "Bread-Albane."¹⁵² Hence, the Albanich of Britain, or the Albani

¹⁵⁰ In the Highlands of Scotland, a Dun-Shie, is a fairy mount.

¹⁵¹ Al-pennines, and the Irish "Bruaidh al-ben," the region of lofty hills.

¹⁵² Albanach means Scotch, a Scotchman. One of the greatest proprietors in Scotland, is the Marquis of Breadalbane. The North Bristol Mail stated, that on the 25th of March, 1857, the

of Italy, seem names founded on the same characteristic reason — the height or roughness of their respective countries.¹⁵³ It was natural enough for men who had been once settled in the lower plains of Gallia Belgica, to give the name of Alba, or Alpin, to Britain.

However, we have more to say about the term Dun. Dinn-Rich was the hill of kings.¹⁵⁴ Edinburgh may have been occupied first by one of the Pictish tribes, merely as a Dun, a fort (donjon¹⁵⁵). The dictionary of the academy, defines the word Dun, in place, ville de guerre, fortress piazza, fortezza, città di guerra¹⁵⁶ (Alberti). On mediæval coins, we still read, sometimes, Castel annexed to Dun; Castel-dun,¹⁵⁷ Dunis-Castello, Duno-Castro (Chateaudun,

fishermen belonging to the Marquis of Breadalbane, caught in the Loch Tay, at one draught, no less than 49 salmon, which weighed nearly 900 lbs.; on Friday, 15, weighing 300 lbs.; and on Saturday, 14, weighing 250 lbs. Now talk about poor Scotland!

"And this other collar — to what country does this fair jewel belong?" "To a *very poor one*, my love," replied the Earl; "this is the Order of St. Andrew, revived by the last James of Scotland."—*Kenilworth*.

¹⁵³ "The Albanese," says Lord Byron, "struck me by their resemblance to the Highlanders of Scotland, in their dress, figure, and manner of living. Their very mountains seem Caledonian, but a milder climate. The kilt, though white; the spare, active form; their dialect, Keltic in the sound; and their hardy habits, all carried me back to Morven."—*Notes to the second chapter of "Childe Harold's Pilgrimage."*

¹⁵⁴ The ancient Scots called the Sovereign, Ri; and the Britons, Rhuy and Rhy (Rhea), which corresponds to the modern French Roy, and the Spanish Rey; and so the Rex of the Latins is derived from the Keltic.

¹⁵⁵ Ducange alludes, also, to the derivation of Dungeon: "in duno sive colle aedificatum." This would remind one, at once, of the Mamertine prison under the Mons Capitolinus.

¹⁵⁶ Baxter (voc. Londinium) observes: "Din, Don, Dun, Arx est, et Oppidum, sive civitas atque etiam Collis."

¹⁵⁷ The chief town in the Isle of Man (Mona), is Castle-Town.

A.D. 840), Exolduno-Castro (Isodun). In Derbyshire, we have Castleton. The fort of Dundermot, county of Antrim, is an oval of sixty feet by thirty, and perfectly level on the top. This is enclosed by a very deep fosse, and below this fosse is another, into which the river Maine runs in flood time. This Dun is ascended by a steep winding path. In the same neighbourhood, stands Dun-Baught, on a high, rocky hill, nearly inaccessible. Dun-Gorkin, in the county of Londonderry, is called "The Fort of Famine," probably having held out till reduced by starvation. Within that fortification have been dug up hatchets of basalt, spear-heads of grey granite, and arrows of flint; and from these examples it is evident that the Dun was a military fortification (in Wales, Din, Din-Colyn); and that, in its construction, some engineering skill was displayed. In the Sclavonian countries, the wooden buildings on eminences, which were secured, as far as possible, against the attack of enemies, were called (Hrady) Gradi, or Castles.¹⁵⁸ It appears that, sometimes, Duns were given up for the erection of churches. In Ireland, a church is mentioned of the name of Cill-Benen, which was erected within the Arx, or fortress, called Dun-Lughaidh, from a lord of the country, who, with his father and four brothers, having been baptised by St. Patrick and St. Benen, gave up the Dun, or fortress, for that purpose.

In the great Isle of Arran, is Dun Aenguis, i. e., the fortification of Angus. Another is in the middle isle, the Dun Concovair. The isles of Arran abound in remains of Druidism. However, as fortified habitations, during the middle ages, arose out of Roman castles, so were the latter often built on Keltic Duns. And so were Christian

¹⁵⁸ K. J. von Bienenberg: "Ueber die Alterthümer im Königreich Böhmen," vol. i., p. 87. Königgratz, 1778.

churches erected on places where heathen temples stood. And here and there, some of the porches of the Roman temples are yet preserved, like those of the cathedral of Aix, and Avignon; and, if I recollect well, at Trieste and Naples also. The church of St. Martin, near Canterbury, is said to be the first building of Roman origin (*Deus Mars*) that was devoted to Christian worship in England.

Besides the Dun, Din (Welsh Dinas), we have, also, the Rath, and the Lis, Lios, Leasa; i. e., an earthen enclosure, court, or fortified place. The Dun and Lis, are nearly synonymous: the chief difference seems to be in the situation, that of the Lis varying in the mode of protection, the earthen entrenchment and the wattle-hedge being employed for the Lis, while the Dun is fenced with thick walls of great strength;¹⁵⁹ and is also invariably placed upon a commanding spot, often on a rock; and, hence, many have the name of Carrodunum. These fortifications have given names to many places in Ireland, which begin with the word Rath, Lis (see my argument about Lausanne), and Dun. As we have it in Rathbarry, Rathcormuk, and Lismore; then in Dunmanway, Dunmanus, Dundeedy, etc.

There are, also, many circular buildings, of inferior dimensions, on the west coast of Scotland, and in the Hebrides, called Duns (Dunadh, a dwelling); but, in Zetland, they call them Picts-houses, and Burghs.

It was a great usage among the Irish, to make assemblies upon Rath, or hills, to parley about matters of wrongs between township and township.¹⁶⁰ Hence, it was a place of assembly, as well as also the residence of the

¹⁵⁹ Cæsar describes such a fort of a German tribe, the Atuatuci (de B. G. ii., p. 76, Ed. Elzeviriana).

¹⁶⁰ I should not wonder if the German word "Rath" (council), was derived from these Rath. The Bohemians actually have it in "Rada."

chieftain.¹⁶¹ I have already observed, that in Transylvania, the Rath was called "Hrady." The castle at Prague, the capital of Bohemia, is called "Hradschin;" and another old castle in the neighbourhood is called "Wischerad." Aircealtair (Arras-Keltair) was the name of the large Rath at Downpatrick, in the county of Down.¹⁶² Then we have the Keltic word of Daingean; expressing, also, a close, a fast place, and a fort. In fact, the Daingean was the primitive Keltic fortification, which was made by digging a ditch, throwing up a rampart, and, on the latter, fixing stakes, which were, of course, a temporary defence used by all nations.

The Rath, the Dun and the Daingean, with their fosses, ramparts and palisades, were the forts among the Irish antecedent to the Norman invasion (A.D. 1169). N.B. When the inconveniences of such high situations appeared, places of defence were built on low ground; but they often retained the names of Duns, Rathes, Burgs, or Bergs, as we have shown already in the case of the Italian Rocca. Often we observe in flat countries as a termination, the word *mag* (town), as in the names of Borbetomagus (Worms, beor Teutonic, for corn, fruit of all kinds, i.e., the town situated in the fruitful country), Noviomagus, Niomagum (the new town), Argentomagus, Rigomagum (Remagen, on Mediæval coins Rigimago), etc., etc. In scripture, we observe

¹⁶¹ Perhaps one of the last of this sort of national assemblies of days of old, of which mention is made, took place, A.D. 554, at Tara (Teagh-mor-Ragh, the great house of the king), during the reign of King Diarmid.

¹⁶² In the will of St. Patrick, the Rath is mentioned as Raith. "Dun a mbiam 'eis erge a Raith Chealtair mhic Duach:" that is, "Down, where my resurrection shall be, in the fortification of Keltair, the son of Duach." St. Patrick died in A.D. 493. — *Jucelin, in his "Life of St. Patrick,"* c. 56.

Magum as urbs Judæa (Jos. xv. 55), and Baal-magon, as urbs Moab (Ezek. xxix. 9).

The Scots retain the Dun in the use of the word toon, meaning a place of habitation. Mansions or farm-houses, environed about with paling or hedges (the German Zaum, the Dutch Tuin, enclosure), got the name of Tunnes, afterwards pronounced towns. Hence the rather old English "hedging and tining" (tine, to divide a field with hedges). A dwelling situated in the country is a Landward-town. Hence, also, Cote-tun, North-tun, South-tun, Cingestun, etc., (Cotton, Norton, Sutton, Kingston), and so on, the British Segodun (Seton). From the Augustodunum remained Autun, and as we have observed of our Swiss Minodunum, Mouton, etc.

The Avari, A.D. 557, in Pannonia, called their residences, which were protected by trenches, ramparts, and many folding fencing, "rings," and Charlemagne had there to encounter a strong resistance, until at last these sheltering dykes fell, and threw immense treasures into the hands of the Franks.¹⁶³ I may here observe, that the Kelts had a particular veneration for the circle, the "ring," retaining the form in their ornaments (which practice, it appears, reached down to the early part of the Mediæval period),¹⁶⁴ making use of it in holy symbols, and therefore they built house and temple round, and rounded their forts.¹⁶⁵ At a somewhat later period, they built in those

¹⁶³ Stälin, Wirtembergische Geschichte, vol. i. p. 246.

¹⁶⁴ Let us only allude to the ornaments of the Anglo-Saxons.

¹⁶⁵ Here, I am unable to refrain from alluding to the round towers of Ireland.—In Shetland, the Burgh of Mousa is a circular building, of which the stones are of uniform magnitude, and well laid together, without any cement. It is 42 feet high, and the walls are 15 feet in thickness (see Hibbert's Description of Shetland, p. 251).

"rings," temples (*fana*), in which the gods were venerated at times when the weather made it difficult to do so in the open air. Tacitus speaks of the destruction of such a sanctuary of the Germans, which was probably constructed of wood, as many churches still are in the northernmost parts of Europe.

Near Penrith is a circular enclosure, called Arthur's-Ring; and in Westmoreland we have Arthur's-Table, a circular one, consisting of a high dike of earth, and a deep foss within, surrounding an area of twenty yards in diameter, and which may also be numbered among those rings or encampments. In Yverdun (*Eburodunum*, *Castrum Eburodunense*, situated near the Lake of Neuchatel, on the mouth of the river Orbe), we have the town, the fort on or near the shore of the lake, or the harbour, Abor, Aber, Old Brit., the mouth of a river, a bay, hence Aberteen, or Havre, and the Eburones. In Wales, we have Aber-Maw (Bar-mouth), seated very near the sea; Aber-geleu, Aber-ogwen, Aber-menai (Anglesey), etc. There is also Aber or Inver, Invernethy, Abernethy, Aberystwith, Aberglasslyn, etc.

If we take it as *Ib-er-dun*, then *ebur* or *aber* is only abbreviated, and the *Ib* is considered as a general topographic denomination,¹⁶⁶ like *Ib-ern* in Irish, which means the stronghold of the Gael. *Ib-arra*, the strong home residence, assimilating to the Scotch *Ard-ib-er*, *Ard-gael* (Argyle, Attacotti), high seat of the Gael; in the sons of Ivor, we have the sons of Gael. The height of Ireland is *Ard-Eri*, and in *Ard-mag*, *Innis-Alga*, we have the Holy Island; one lofty peak in the wild and rugged district, forming the boundary between the King's and the Queen's Counties, bears this proud title.

¹⁶⁶ Here the Latin *ib-i*, there, the very spot.

Our Swiss Eburodunum appears to have been destroyed by fire, from the quantity of corn reduced into a mass of coal found among its ruins. This may have happened in A.D. 363, at a renewed irruption of the Alemanni, when Rauracorum, Vindonissa, and many other great places, which were yet in some degree inhabited, were plundered by them and laid in ruins, because the Roman troops in Gaul were no longer strong enough to drive back the furious assault of the advancing Alemanni.

It is stated, that St. Prothasius,¹⁶⁷ a bishop of Aventicum, A.D. 501 — 530, had already begun to erect some houses of wood, and also a church, near the castle (the Losodun), probably with the intention of rendering the Episcopal See of the Aventici in future more secure. He died during the progress of the work, A.D. 530, and was buried on the spot where stands the church, or rather chapel of St. Prez (Prex), at the small town of that name (St. Prothasii Oppidum), which is situated on a point of land near the Lake of Geneva, at the mouth of the river Boiron.

The successor of St. Prothasius was St. Chilmegisile, A.D. 531. In A.D. 885, the church of St. Prez was given to the bishoprick of Lausanne, by Reginald, lord of that part of the country, forming, in olden times, the high road between Lausonium and Equestris. In the deed of the donation, no mention is, however, made of the tomb of St. Prothasius. With regard to the wooden buildings erected by St. Prothasius, we may reflect on the rustic

¹⁶⁷ On some coins, struck at Milan, by the Emperor Henry VII. (1308 — 1313) we observe the representation of two Saints, St. Gervasius and St. Protasius: the latter passes for a hermit of Venetia. And I have also read, somewhere, that the relics of the bodies of these two saints are in the church of St. Stephen's, at old Breysach (Mons Brisacus). These relics were transported hither by the Emperor Frederick I. (1152 — 1190).

architecture of wood, which, in days of old, was usual, of course not merely in Switzerland; it was general, even throughout Greece. The temple of Poseidon Hippius, at Mantinea, was of wood (Paus. viii. 10, 2). Oaken columns were in the Heraeum (v. 16). At Dodona, the image had its place in a hollow tree. The temples of the Etruscans were, probably, also of wood.

Potter, in his Grecian antiquities (speaking of the buildings of Athens), says, the Pelasgi taught the Greeks the art of building houses of lime and stone. In the time of Cræsus, the houses of Sardis were built of clay and straw.

The royal palace of Zengis was of wood; and so the house of Fingal, where the heroes prepared their own repast, and sat around the light of the burning oak,¹⁶⁸ the wind "lifted their locks, and whistled through their open halls." The first bridge in Rome (Pons Sublicius) was of wood. Strabo (IV. i., p. 56) tells us, that the Gauls inhabited large houses built of planks and clay, and finished in a rising roof, upon which they heaped a quantity of thatch. The Irish had splendid buildings; but these structures were of timber, and so it was among other Keltic tribes.

An interesting description of an old Irish timber house, discovered about sixteen feet below the original surface of a bog, in the county of Donegal, is given in Fraser's Magazine, January, 1854. It is observed, that the tool marks on the wood, indicate that it was wrought with the rudest implements, and the labour bestowed upon it must have been immense. Even as late as the thirteenth century, distinguished citizens lived in wooden houses, at the town of Schaffhausen.

However, it by no means follows, that houses were al-

¹⁶⁸ So it was in the palace of Ulysses (Odys. xviii. 305).

ways erected of this material in those days; for where wood was scarce, and stone abundant, they were made of stone.

When St. Patrick went up to the place which is called Foirrgea, to divide some territory among the sons of Awley, he built there a quadrangular church of clay,¹⁶⁹ because wood was not at hand. In England, before Alfred's time (who died A.D. 901), few royal palaces, or houses for divine worship, were built of any other material than wood. I believe there is still one in existence in Essex — Greensted church, near Chipping Ongar.

When St. Patrick (who died A.D. 492), who is said to have introduced the Latin alphabet, erected the church of Saul, in the county of Down; it was called Sigibol Phadruig, or Patrick's Barn, a name at once conveying to us its shape and materials. The old chapel of Monenna, at Kilslive, in the county of Armagh,¹⁷⁰ A.D. 630, was made of smoothed timber, according to the Irish fashion.

At Ravenna, there was also the church of St. Andrew, built in the fifth or sixth century, which had pillars made of the walnut-tree, like those of a saloon in the Episcopal palace. And there are still many very ancient wooden churches in Norway.

The erection of the first stone castle, is recorded by the Irish annalists as an extraordinary thing (it was called the Beautiful House) even as late as the year 1161. It was the castle of Tuam, erected by Roderick O'Connor, King of Connaught; the ruins are still to be seen. I do not know

¹⁶⁹ *Teagh-uire*, in Irish, means a house of clay.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. *The Book of Armagh*, fol. 14, a MS., written between the years 660—680.

A chair of literature was founded at Armagh, in the twelfth century, by the brave King Roderick. In A.D. 444, St. Patrick fixed his See at Armagh.

whether this castle is one of the five ancient castles in the county of Antrim, considered as the first stone and lime buildings in Ireland. Such constructions, however, as the well-known round towers of a remote period of Ireland's halcyon days may be exceptions to this remark. They might have originally served for different purposes, as well as, at a later period, for places of worship,¹⁷¹ and also for nocturnal observation of the celestial bodies, to watch the bright-eyed "Ull-Erin,"¹⁷² the guiding star of Ireland,

„Der Irländer folgt des Glückes Stern,"¹⁷³

as well as places of defence, containing a small garrison, to watch, and to give information of approaching danger to the surrounding countries, and also to communicate in a telegraphic manner, either by fires, or otherwise, with other similar towers, placed in sight in different directions, such as I have observed of great size and strength, in the canton of the Valais, as having served for similar purposes. It is even at present the custom of the canton of Berne to communicate, in dangerous times, from the heights, in the night by fire, and in the day by smoke. Considering these towers also as places of worship, it may here be observed, that there is scarcely a country in the world, where some traces of the adoration of fire are not to be found. Fires were preserved in most of the principal temples, both Greek and barbarian. The sacred fire was called by the Irish "Ur," and also "Adur" (Urian). A title given by the Egyptians to the sun was Orus (Aurora). Fires were lighted in Ireland on the summits of hills, in honour of the sun, and many hills still retain the name of

¹⁷¹ At Aix-la-Chapelle there still exists an old tower, which bears the name of Granus Tower (Grian, in Irish, the sun).

¹⁷² I believe "Ull" means lovely (qy. Ulles-water).

¹⁷³ Schiller, Wallenstein's Lager.

"Conc-Greine," i.e., hills of the sun; on many are yet seen ruins of Druidical altars.¹⁷⁴

In Switzerland, I have particularly inspected that fine specimen of a round tower, upon the rock near Martigny, and which possesses the singular feature of the original entrance being towards the middle of the tower, which is also not uncommon in the Irish round towers,¹⁷⁵ and which added to the security of the inmates.

One who had been accustomed to roam about many of those round towers in Ireland in his boyhood, as well as having seen them in his later years, told me that some of them have their own wells inside, and in others he observed recesses cut into the thick walls to serve probably as sleeping places;¹⁷⁶ and if you ask any of the country people about such a round tower, they, in general, answer you, it is the castle—arguments in favour of the theory that these round towers were built for defensive purposes. With regard to the circumstance, that some of the round towers in Ireland exhibit Christian symbols sculptured upon them, we may as well allude to those upright stones, sometimes so finely sculptured spread over great part of Ireland, which also have representations of Christian symbols. Now, I believe, that many of these are the remaining "Menhirs" of the Druids, which (Men-hir, stone long) were afterwards used by early Christians for that

¹⁷⁴ Caesar ascribes to the Germans three principal Deities they worshipped, namely, the sun, the moon, and fire.

¹⁷⁵ The very fine round tower at Devenish Island, about two and a half miles from Enniskillen; which is exactly circular, 69 feet high to the conical converging at the top (which is 15 feet more), and 48 feet in circumference, has the door elevated 9 feet above the ground.

¹⁷⁶ There is also a sort of chamber within the concentric walls of the round tower (Burgh of Mousa) in Shetland. Hibbert, *Descript. of Shetland*, plate 6, fig. 8.

sacred purpose, where their situation was convenient. Some of them have on the top fixed a cross formed of four equal lengths.

Several other similar round towers may be seen, on elevations more or less distant up the Rhone, towards Sion, the Keltic *Sit-dun*, *Sittin*, *Sead-im*, i.e., high seat. *Sithve* in Irish, means an establishment, a city—reminds one also of the British *Segodum*, *Seton*. *Sion* (the German, *Sitten*); was the Roman *Sedunum*, and the capital of the Keltic *Seduni*. In *Sithblein*, we have the name of one of the round towers in Ireland, and *Sithdrum* was the ancient name of the town of *Cashel* (*Caisiol*, implies also a house built of lime and stone), forming, with three other towns, an episcopal See; and as the word "*Sith*" expresses places established by the Druids for devotion, and is pronounced *See*, hence from that, perhaps, the English *See* (the *Diocess*, *Diocesis*) of a bishop may have been derived. In *Sitomagus*, we have the town of *Dunwich*. By the way, I may yet observe, that in the country of the *Hauts Valaisians* is a glen, or small valley, called *Val d'Erin*, and a fine conspicuous snow-peak has the name of *Dent d'Erin*.

With regard to the name of the town of *Sion*, and the people *Seduni*,¹⁷⁷ it is well known, that by the name of such and such a city, the ancient as well as the modern Swiss (as likewise other people) did not only comprehend habitations of men enclosed by walls, but also all persons living in the environs, under the laws and protection of the city, as the *Bernese*, the *Genevese*, the *Zürcher*, *Basler*, etc.

Of *Sion*, we have *Tremissi aurei*, from the fifth and sixth century, of the time of the *Burgundians*, who, as early as A.D. 411, had already made an incursion into the *Valais*,

¹⁷⁷ Pliny iii. 20.

where they martyred Florentine of Sion. These Tremissi are inscribed SIDVNIS. One in the British Museum has SIDVNENSIVM CIVITATIS, and MVNVLFVS MONETARIVS.¹⁷⁸ Sion is situated in the widest part of the Valais, on the Rhodan, where a strangely formed rock rises, on which were pinnacled three castles, mostly in ruins, named Valeria, Turbilon, and Majorica. The old walls, towers, and gates, bear evident token of their past importance. Sion became a Roman fortified boundary in that part of Helvetia, after Cæsar had made himself master of the pass over the Great St. Bernard, and had subdued the primitive inhabitants, the Seduni, Veragri, and Nantuatæ. But the incessant attacks of those wild mountaineers had challenged again the superior arms of the Romans. Augustus, B.C. 16, sent his step-son, Nero Claudius Drusus, who successfully forced the passes of St. Gothard and the Brenner.

Apollonius of Rhodes (B.C. 200), seems to have had notice of that part of the country : he says that the Rhodan issues from one of the most hidden corners of the earth, precipitating its waves into boisterous lakes, in the midst of sad, melancholy Cantons, inhabited by the Kelts. The Massilians had explored the course of the Rhone, as far as its junction with the Saone (Herodotus) ; and, still guided by the Rhone, they discovered this melancholy abode of the Kelts, on the banks of a great lake, which they called the Lake of the Wilderness. Some of the lofty mountains they compared to the pillars of the sun (*solis columnæ*). It may be observed, that at Massilia, three different languages were spoken — the Greek, the Gallic, and the Latin ; not unlike, as now at Brussels, where they speak Flemish, French, and Walloon.

The Romans never came up as far as Brieg (*bricca*,

¹⁷⁸ Formerly in the Pfister Collection.

Keltic; a wild country, Brich-Alpe) into the Valais. The wall they had built across, in order to shut out unsubdued barbarians, stood six miles below Brieg, and Sion was their last fortress.

In Roman history, the Helvetians are noticed for the first time, little more than a century before our era.

Sion is an old bishoprick, of the period of the introduction of Christianity into that part of the country. It was then under the bishop of Vienne (VRBS. VIENNA. CAPVT. GALIE. on her coins); and, at a later period, it was under the authority and supremacy of the Archbishop of Lyons, which extended over all the churches of the vast countries between the Alps and the Rhine; and hence, again, the well known inscription, PRIMA. SEDES. GALLIARVM. on the episcopal coins of Lyons. The Archbishop of Lyons is still styled "primas primum."

The earliest bishop who resided at Sion, seems to have transferred his residence from Martigny, in A.D. 600; perhaps, as early as in 580, as I have observed before. At the synod of Aquileja, in A.D. 381; and at another, held in Milan, in 390, appears the signature of a Theodorus Episcopus Octoduriensis (Martigny). In A.D. 802, Charlemagne gave to St. Theodule, Bishop of Sion, the sovereignty of the Valais. At a later period, the Bishop of Sion received the title of Prince of the Empire, Bishop of Sion, and Count and Prefect of the Valais. However, by degrees, the bishop lost the greater part of his consequence; his power was much restricted, and his succession was determined by public election. The land is divided by the population into the Upper and Lower Valais. The Upper, a few miles above Sion, is German: "quæ ad Peninum ferunt, obsepta gentibus semigermanis fuissent. Veragri incolæ jugi ejus" (Livy, xxi. 38); and became a gift of the Burgundian king, Rudolph II., towards the tenth century, to the Bishop

of Sion, as *tenant par-avail*. The arms of the Canton count seven stars, in an oblong divided field of red and silver, alluding to the seven tithe offices in the Upper Valais, namely, five German, Gombs, Brieg, Visp, Raron, and Leuk; and the two (called by the Germans, Welsh) Siders and Sion. The Lower Valais (including Siders and Sion), Martigny; and St. Maurice is Welsh. It was held by the Counts of Savoy as an imperial fief, the donation of Henry IV. (1056—1106). In 1475, the Germans from the Upper Valais, obliged the Count of Savoy to evacuate the country. From that period, the mint of Sion revived under some of their princely and warlike bishops, of which, one of the most renowned was Matthew Schiner. His abilities as a politician were only equalled by his courage as a soldier, of which honourable mention was made at the sanguinary conflict of Marignan.

Now, the immense round tower at Martigny (Forum Claudii Valensium Octodurensium, third century), according to my humble judgment, really appears as a work of that Keltic tribe, the Veragri, the present Bas Valaisians. Strabo (iv. 5) says that these mountaineers of Keltic origin, were already provided with fortified castles, before the Roman invasion.¹⁷⁸ Here I am reminded of the well chosen Keltic fort of Ardoch, in Scotland, county of Stirling, which was also occupied by the Romans in the third year of Agricola. Hence, it appeared to me, when on the spot, at Martigny, that the Roman Castrum, of which I observed several fine remains of arches, built of

¹⁷⁸ An interesting account of remains of Keltic fortifications in the territory of the "Ubii," about Cologne, etc., has been lately given by M. von Waldbrühl, in the Cologne newspaper, 21st March, 1857. The British Museum possesses a Solidus, in gold, of Theodebertus, king of Austrasia, A.D. 534—538. It shows, on the reverse, the letters COL. V., which I read "Colonia Ubiorum."

tufo, was joined by Augustus to that round tower, to secure the road over the Pennine Pass (the Great St. Bernard¹⁷⁹). Cæsar mentions the place as "*Vicus Veragrorum positus in valle, non magna adjecta planitie, altissimis montibus undique, contentus* (de B. G., lib. iii. 1).

In the whole circuit of the former Octodurum, one meets many and considerable ruins of old walls and buildings, capitals of columns, and other fragments of fine workmanship. Coins of all sizes and metals; Roman Imperial, from Julius Cæsar to Honorius, as well as Consular, Greek, and Punic are found there.¹⁸⁰

There exists still the greater part of the outer wall of a Roman amphitheatre, of which the area was sown with corn when I was there, and by a successive vegetation raised far above its original level. I obtained, on the spot, several Roman coins, from some labourers; one was a large brass of Faustina Junior. The great round tower at Martigny reminds me of the tower at the town of Cork, which surely was not built as a belfry for the ancient little church of Finbar (founded in the sixth century) but that the church was annexed to the tower. Another one of these granite-built round towers we have in the vale of Glendalough, its height is 110 feet, and its circumference 51! Now, will any body make me believe that this mighty structure was also built for a bell tower of one of those little early Christian churches of the sixth and seventh centuries? Besides, the masonry of most of these round towers is greatly superior to that of the little church annexed to it. The stones of the towers are large, regular, and well dressed, and those of the churches are the contrary. I may yet allude to the well-known fact, that the

¹⁷⁹ The Little St. Bernard, Mons Graus, the Graian Alps, from the Keltic "*grai*g," a rock.

¹⁸⁰ Haller, *die Helvetier unter den Römern*, ii. p. 530.

early Christians built their churches, if not generally, at least very often, on places occupied before as places of worship by the Gentiles.

I refer those who propose to convert the mighty round towers of Ireland into belfries, to M. Victor Hugo, for a curious description of an ancient bell-tower (*Le Rhin*). He says, "*Le brave architecte a pris un bonnet carré de prêtre ou d'avocat. Sur ce bonnet carré il a échafaudé un saladier renversé; sur le fond de ce saladier devenu plate-forme, il a posé un sucrier; sur le sucrier une bouteille; sur la bouteille un soleil emmanché dans le goulot par le rayon inférieur vertical; et enfin, sur le soleil, un coq embroché dans le rayon vertical supérieur.*" Of the round martello towers, an Irishman said, that they were built for the purpose of puzzling posterity.

Early Christian churches have bell-gables, such as I have seen in the Pyrenees. However, it is known that bell-towers in Europe were already built in the ninth century. The ringing of church bells (being consecrated objects) kept off the Devil and witches in those days of superstition when old women gave suck to young devils.

One of the bells¹⁸¹ of the cathedral of Geneva has inscribed "*VOX MEA CVNCTORVM FIT TERROR DÆMONIORVM,*" date 1407. Plutarch observes, that there was a belief that the sound of the Sistrum frightened away Typhon, and warded off the evil principle.¹⁸² In the in-

¹⁸¹ To the English "Bell," I may compare the German "Schelle"; and to the Irish "Chloca" (plu. Chlocaibh) again the German "Glocke."

¹⁸² Lord Lindsay, on *Christian Churches*, vol. ii. 10, observes, the monsters that support the pillars of the porch on Lombard churches, stand there as talismans to frighten away evil spirits. The architect of the Cathedral of Berne, had the satisfaction to see it finished during his lifetime. Now, in order to frighten away malignant criticism (which had arisen), he had sculptured in bas-relief, on the north side of the building, these words, "*mach's nach.*" They still remain as sharp as ever.

terior of Switzerland (the Waldstetten), the churches had no bells; the parishioners were summoned by the sound of the wooden horn of the Alps, until towards the thirteenth century. Mahomet adopted the human voice for summoning Moslems to prayers.

The castrum at Martigny has been restored and occupied again and again by Goths, Burgundians, and Franks, until it was occupied by the house of Savoy. I may here also mention, that in the beginning of the tenth century, bands, indifferently called Saracens, Arabs, or Hungarians, invaded some parts of Switzerland, and committed dreadful ravages. During the predatory incursions of the Saracens, who occupied, from A.D. 929 to 978, most passes over the Alps into Italy, they built or restored castles, and many names in the country, such as Maurmont, Mauro-forte, and the Mur des Sarasins, near Avenches (A.D. 926—927), still testify of these eastern visitors.¹⁸³ The Tour de Gorge, on the neighbouring hill of Cully, is attributed to that period. The student of history will remember the manner in which the Saracens fortified themselves in the Roman amphitheatre, at Nismes, against Charles Martel.

For the etymology of the name of the Veragri, we may refer to the Irish *Fear*, warrior, the Caledonian *Vergobretus* (Fear-go-breath), the chief of the expedition, *Vercingetorix*, etc. In lower Bretagne, *Ver*, great; *Vergobretus*, the highest judge.

These Veragri venerated Hercules in their town of Oc-to-dur (Octodurum Veragrorum, Octodurus, Civitas Valensium). When Cæsar was in Gallia (B.C. 57—56), he sent Servius Galba with the twelfth legion and some cavalry to the Nantuates, Veragri, and Seduni, under the

¹⁸³ Dr. Ferdinand Keller, *Der Einfall der Sarazenen in die Schweiz*, Zurich, 1855.

pretext of opening and facilitating the pass over the Great St. Bernard to the merchants who were accustomed to travel at great risk, and on payment of great tolls.

Galba, successful in different engagements against those mountaineers, who fought desperately for their liberty, "*Devota morti pectora libera*" (Horat. Od. iv. 14, v. 18), had determined to make his winter quarters in Octodurum, backed by the high road over the Great St. Bernard (Summum¹⁸⁴ Penninum), towards Ivrea and Milan. He had sent two cohorts into the country of the Nantuates, intending to winter with the remaining cohorts at Octodurus,¹⁸⁵ which town is situated on the left bank of the Rhone, near the great bend which that river makes after descending the longitudinal valley between the Pennine Alps (Vallis Pennina, Valesia). It has no great extent of level ground near it, and is confined on all sides by lofty mountains.

Cæsar says, that the town of Octodurus was divided into two parts by a river (Drance, Dur-ance); but he does not mention the river's name, a branch of which rises at the foot of the Great St. Bernard, and joins the left bank of the Rhone at Martigny. The lower part of this valley, between Octodurus and the head of Lacus Lemanus, into which the Rhone flows, was occupied by the Nantuates, with Agaunum (Tarnais, St. Maurice), their principal town, and other places, such as Bactiacum (Bex), Ala (Aigle) and Hibernum (Yvorne). The following important in-

¹⁸⁴ Summanus was a Deity, to whom nocturnal lightning was attributed, and Augustinus de Civit. Dei, iv. 23, says, that the Etruscans honoured him more than Jupiter. Near Aguvium (Eugubium, Gubbio), was a famous temple, dedicated to Jupiter Penninus. Lanzi, iii. p. 638.

¹⁸⁵ "Constituit cohortes duas in Nantuatibus collocare; ipse cum reliquis ejus legionis (Duodecimæ) cohortibus in vico Veragorum, qui appellatur Octodurus, hiemare" (Cæs. de Bell. Gall., lib. iii. cap. 1).

scription had been found at Agaunum, erected by the Nantuates, to the Emperor Augustus, B.C. 23.

IMPER. CAESARI.
DIVI F. AVGVSTO.
COS. XI. TRIBVN. POTEST.
PONTIFICI. MAXIMO.
NANTVATES. PATRONO.

By the word Nantuates, was understood a people who live in an aqueous, marshy country. Nant is a Keltic word for a brook in a wood: the word exists yet in the patois of Savoy. We find the Nant d'Arpenas, a cascade near St. Maurice, also, Nant-Orli. About Chamounix, are numbers of brooks of the name of Nant; as Nant de la Griez, Nant de Borgeat, Nant de Taveran, and Born-Nant. The diminutive of Nant is Nántyn. In the Canton Neuchâtel, we have yet the Val de Nant. In Wales, again, we have the beautiful vale of Nant-Gwynant (the vale of the waters), Nant-Beris, Nant-Colwin, Nant-Frangan, Nant-Conwy, Nant-y-Flint, Nant-y-Bela, Pen-nant-melengell, and Pen-nant-Llan-vehangel.¹⁸⁶

There are, also, the French towns of Nantuacum (Nantue), Nantuates (Nanteuil), Nannetes (Nantes), etc.

Galba fortified himself with a ditch and rampart, and thought he was safe. However, the united Seduni and Veragri, anxious for the safety of their sons, or friends, who were in the Roman camp as hostages, suddenly attacked Galba before his defences were complete, and all his supplies brought in. The Romans obstinately defended themselves in a fight of six hours; when, seeing that they could not longer keep the enemy out, they set fire to the town, and made a successful sortie. After this escape, Galba

¹⁸⁶ More such native Welsh rabbits, or rare bits, we have in Llanfairmathafarneithaf, Llangristiolus, etc.; Sesquipedalian words which rival long German names.

prudently withdrew his troops; and, marching through the country of the Nantuates, reached the land of the Allobroges (Savoy and Dauphiné), well known for their fidelity to the Romans, where he wintered. In the following spring, Galba completed their subjection. They, retained, however, the privilege of being governed by their own magistrates, and enjoyed, also, the advantages of Roman citizenship. "Sunt Latio donati incolæ Octodurenenses" (Pliny iii., c. 20). It seems the Valesians retained their warlike disposition: few conquests were more dearly purchased by the French in 1798 and 1799, than those of the Valais.

The more we go on gathering together words of Keltic origin, which subsist in the different dialects, or idioms in the names of provinces, mountains, rivers, towns, and boroughs, the more we are convinced, that most habitations, towns, etc., were built or established by the Helvetians, and not by Romans.

In Zürich, we have the *Dur-i-ac*, *Turiacum*, *Turicum* which alludes to its situation (like *Aventicum*) on the lake, as well as on the river.

With regard to the name of the great Roman *Vitodurum*, *Vitudurum*, the town of Winterthur, situated, as well as Solothurn, in *Maxima Sequanorum*; we have the Keltic *Vito-dur*, which according to some signifies spring water. For my part, I beg to suggest the still preserved name of the small river on which that town is situated, namely, the *Eulach*, i. e., the Owl-brook, or water.

Now, in Gaelic, we have *Fit-he-ach*, the raven,¹⁸⁷ *Raven's-*

¹⁸⁷ In Scotland, plain of Murray, a sort of hooded crow, is called *feannag*; and *lochlanach*, in Gaelic, is a sort of wild goose. It appears, that to a Dane, a nickname was given, calling him *lochlonnach*.

brook? Of course, this can also be considered as *Fit-he-dur*, the Romans transforming the *f* into *v*, as we have it in *Fetluna* and *Felatri*, in Etruria, etc. Hence, this would give us in *Fit-he-ach*, or *Fit-he-dur*, the name of Vitodur, which signifies the town on the raven's brook. Strabo (lib. iv., c. 6, p. 198) alludes to a lake in the Keltic Alps, joining the ocean, which was called the "Lake of the Two Ravens." A rivulet, near Richterswil, bears the name of *Kräh-bach*, i. e., crow's-brook; another is called *Wolf-bach*.¹⁸⁸ We have, also, a *Bärenbach*, in Nassau; at *Hamburgh*, the *Alster*; and at *Leipzig*, the *Elster*, which signifies the magpie. In England, we have the *Ravens-bourne*, which runs into *Deptford Creek*.

Besides, many other rivers have the name of animals; such as *Biber* (beaver) -*ach*, *Ur-ach*, *Ram-ach*, etc.; and, hence, castles, villages, and towns, situated on them, bear often the same name. The *Tigris* is now called *Chazir*, i. e., wild boar; the *Rumelus*, a mountain torrent, is termed by the Kurds, *Chazir-zu*, wild-boar water.

The Roman town of *Vindonissa* (*Windisch* in the Canton of *Argau*), appears to me the Keltic *Fin-dun-uish*, that signifies the town, the fort, on the white, the light-coloured water, or stream. We have only to instance the name of the capital of Ireland. What does its etymology signify but its situation, namely on the black or dark water "Dubh-linn?"¹⁸⁹ There is also the *Dhu-lough*, the black lake, near *Fairhead*. In *Wales*, we have a *Rhos-Vynach*, and a *Fynnon-Vair* (well of the lady). Many rivers in

¹⁸⁸ "Die Ortsnamen des Kantons Zürich," by Dr. Heinrich Meyer. Zürich, 1849. Nos. 661 and 704.

¹⁸⁹ The Welch have it in *Du-lyn*. I should not wonder if the name of *Dover* has the same meaning in *Devonia* and *Dubris*, namely, "Dubh-avon," or "Dubh-nise."

Switzerland are distinguished and named by their colour, either black, grey, or white.

In Uisc, Uisg, Ushg (diminut. Uisgean), we have another of the many names for water in Keltic, as observed already by the names of Vevey and Wiesbaden, as well as in the river Wisper (Nassau), and the little port of Lausanne, Uchy.¹⁹⁰ Wyske is a rivulet in Yorkshire; and a large stream in Monmouthshire, goes also under the name of Wysk. Wyske was the ancient name of the river Wise, in Baden, so beautifully sung of by the poet Hebel.

Then we have the foaming torrent of the Wisp, in the valley of the Fée, in the Alps. Comar-tri-n-üisge, is the denomination of the three waters, the rivers Suir, Nore, and Barrow, near Waterford. With regard to the Keltic word Fin, it stands for white, or light-coloured; we have only to compare the Fin-gals¹⁹¹ (Irish tribes, Fenic¹⁹²) to the Dubh-gals (of Scotland), namely, the fair and the dark Gaels.¹⁹³ Some Highlanders call themselves Na-fian; and between places of the names of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, we have the river Finn. The Teutonic "Doove" is for dark, or heavy-coloured, and the Keltic is Dubh,¹⁹⁴ Duv, Dev; in Wales, and in the Highlands of Scotland, it is Ddu and Dhu. These cognate words have given the name of Deil, Tiel,¹⁹⁵ Teufel. We may here as well refer again to the

¹⁹⁰ In the Pas de Calais, the small town of Aucht was the Keltic Alciniacum.

¹⁹¹ Fin M'Caul, Fin-mac-gaul, Fingal. In the East, the "mac" appears in "ben," Ali-ben-yusuf, Ali, son of Joseph.

¹⁹² The Irish dialect, "Bearla-Feni."

¹⁹³ In Ireland now-a-days, a favourite (boy of the family) is called the White-headed. Black-a-vised expresses a dark featured person.

¹⁹⁴ Dabrona, black water (Ireland).

¹⁹⁵ "Methocht, the Devil's as black as pik" (William Dunbar, The Swearers and the Devil).

We may yet mention the Davos Lake (black lake) in the Alpine region.

name of Dublin (Dubhlin), because we read on its coins of the tenth century, "Diffi" (time of King Anlaf). Dublin was partly destroyed by the Danes, in A.D. 944.

In the oldest documents of the Convent de St. Gall, occur many names of Irish monks, such as Dubwin, Dubslan, Dubduin. The name of Fin we often observed in the list of early Irish kings;¹⁹⁶ and the patron saint of the cathedral of Cork is Fin-bar, i.e., white headed (his real name was Lachan, about A.D. 630). We have also an Irish monk of the name of Findan, who regulated the convent of Rhinau, in Switzerland. The Irish called the Norsemen (the Danes) white strangers; this reminds one of the Finländers.

In the name of the Swiss town of Solothurn, Soleure, the Roman Solodurum (Solodurensē, Castrum, Vicus Solodori, Solodurus Pagus), which is situated on the river Aar (Arula), we have the Keltic Sol-dur,¹⁹⁷ or Solidur, by which is understood the Aqua-solis, corresponding again with the French towns of Sol-acum (Sonnai) and Soli-acum (Souilhac); it expresses likewise a similar meaning in the name of Bellach (Bellay), a village near Solothurn, and known by the Romans as Bellæ aquæ, A.D. 219.

We have a Beleniacum in the south of France (Lot). Other varieties are in the Keltic Bel-ain-uisg, Polliniac, Polligny (Apollini aquæ). There is a Sanodurum on the Rhine, a Solona (Citta del Sole) in the Romagna. In the environs of Atri is the river Salinello, the ancient Helvius.

¹⁹⁶ Finchad, Fiatach-Fin, Olil-Fin, Aengus-Finn, Aid-Fin, Fiach-Finnschothach, etc.

¹⁹⁷ Plato has observed, that the names of fire and water (ῥῆμα), as of many other words, came from the Barbarians, "multa nomina Graecos a Barbaris habuisse" (Plato in Cratylus. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. i.).

The Irish have also the Sol in Hiol and Hiaul. In Castile, is the town of Solis. Soillse corresponds with the Gaelic Sáoellsh'-sha, which means light of the sun.

Tremisses aurei of the sixth century, struck at the town of Sonnai, are inscribed SOLONACO, and ERNOALDVS MO (Monetarius); others have SOLNACO.¹⁹⁸

On Bracteate coins of Solothurn, of the thirteenth century, the head of St. Ursus is represented as patron saint. In an old Italian book, the name of which has slipped my memory, I found that St. Ursus was an officer in the Theban legion, and that he was martyred before the Temple of the Sun, at Solothurn (fu martirizzato innanzi al tempio o torre — del sole a Soleure).

At Bellay, near Solothurn, many antiquities have been found. And, in the summer of 1854, in the same neighbourhood (at Granichen, Granus, god of the sun), extensive and solid mosaic floors have been dug out, together with some Roman utensils, and bricks bearing the cipher of the 21st legion. To the Aquæ Bellæ, near Solothurn, we may compare inscriptions which occur at Autun, such as Fonti Beleno, whence, it appears, that this god had a temple over a warm medicinal spring, which was consecrated to him as the giver, or restorer of health. We have also the warm bath of Belluno (Apollo Belenus), in the district of Treviso (Apollo was believed by the Celts to heal diseases).

Near Solothurn is also a forest, called Attisholz (i.e., Attiswood, Attis, Atys); Belenus—Adad, means, in old Persian, the sun, and the Egyptians had Sal-Atis.

M. Bochat (ii. p. 369) gives quotations from Arnobius and Macrobius, to shew that under the name of Attis, the sun was also worshipped, "*Attidem cum nominamus, Solem*

¹⁹⁸ Revue Numismatique, 1847, pl. v. fig. 8.

significamus;" and again, "Sol nominibus Attinis sive Attidis colitur" (Saturn. lib. i. cap. 21).

There is likewise an elevation near Solothurn called Hermes Bühel.¹⁹⁹

Es zog die alte Kunde;
Tief liegt in jenem Wald
In grüner Eichen Rinde
Ein Steinbild, hehr und alt.

I may, perhaps, mention the formerly large town of Solimariaca (Solicia, Solencensis Pagus), near the village of Soulosse, situated on the borders of the Departments de la Meurth and des Vosges. The Keltic coins of this place represent on one side a female bust, the tutelar genius, Solima, Solimara, of the town; and on the reverse, a galloping horse; they are inscribed SOLIMA.²⁰⁰

Some of the bas-reliefs found at the old Solimariaca, which are said to have formed the anterior part of Keltic tombs, have been destroyed, and the reason is given in the following excusable manner:—"Il y a quelques années que des femmes du village de Soulosse, ayant mis au monde des enfans fort laids, en cherchèrent la cause dans les regards qu'elles avaient jetés durant leur grossesse sur ces bas-reliefs. Leurs époux s'en émurent, et d'après l'autorisation du magistrat, on envoya sur les lieux un maçon qui, a coups de marteau, détruisit entièrement les figures des personnages."

With regard to Roman inscriptions, bearing also the name of Salodurum, we have only to reflect, that in the East, the most common name for the sun was San, and Son, Zan, Zon. The Babylonian name was Saon, and

¹⁹⁹ Reminds one of *Odyssey* x. 471.

²⁰⁰ Beaulieu, *Archeologie de la Lorraine*, vol. i. p. 174—177, Paris, 1840.

Samas²⁰¹ (Sama, Punic, the heavens). In Ireland, the name of the sun occurs also as "Samb" (Sambra, summer). By the Phœnicians, it was Zaunam, under which name they worshipped Adonis, or the sun, Bel-ador, Adorsan, Sol, the Lord of Light. Bel, or Belin, here considered as Lord, may be found in the names of the British Kings, Cuno-beline and Cassi-velan, as well as in the name of several Assyrian Kings, like Belitaras, Bel-Kat-irassou (the Lord has strengthened my hand); or, Irib-akhi-Bel (the Lord has multiplied the brothers).

The Philistines fastened the body of Saul to the wall of Beth-san, the house or temple of the sun (in Gaelic, Tuir Beil, Tower of Baal). We have also the name of Sansannah, as a city in Canaan (Joshua xv. 31). The fine waters at Ænon, where John was baptised, were called Salem. The same name occurs as a town in Palestine, which was rendered Sonam by Eusebius.

The Kelts feared and worshipped the physical powers of nature. Thus the ideas of God and Religion sprang from physical objects. In Caledonia and Ireland, as well as by other branches of the great Keltic nation, that universal god of the heathen world, the Sun, was worshipped, even as late as the sixth century. "The sun," says the apostle of Ireland, Saint Patrick, "which we behold, is ordained by the will of God to rise daily for us, but never shall it rule, nor shall its splendour endure, but all those who adore it shall, in misery and wretchedness, descend into punishment" (Confess. p. 22).

With this idolatry, the early Irish divines had to struggle in Switzerland, when converting the Helvetii to Christianity, and their forests into fertile lands. For these par-

²⁰¹ Samdan, the Assyrian Hercules (Sam-u-el).

ticular merits, are mentioned St. Columban and St. Gallus, the latter of whom died A.D. 640, at Arbon, in Thurgau (Arbona, Arbor-Felix), at the age of ninety-five. It is said that he was the son of Ketternach, a king of Scotland. Both these distinguished men came to Switzerland, or were already at Zürich, in A.D. 610. The Convent of St. Gall was founded in A.D. 614.

Of those Irish monks, it is stated, that they seldom travelled alone in Switzerland; that they were provided with long staves, leather wallets and bottles (*flasconnes*), and made use of wax tablets (*pugillares Scotorum*) for writing.

Christianity had already spread out in Gallia, since Constantine the Great (308—337); and it is pretty nearly ascertained, that in Helvetia, also, a good many disciples and preachers of the Gospel, as likewise different communities existed, whose administrators were called *Episcopi*. It may be mentioned, that at Aventicum alone, there had been already twenty-two *Episcopi* before St. Marius. From this number of bishops, we may conclude that they had begun to bear this dignity under the Roman Emperors, at least, since Constantine the Great. They lie all buried under the ruins of Aventicum.²⁰²

At the synod of Aquileia, in A.D. 381, there was the signature of Theodorus *Episcopus Octodurensis* (Martigny), as stated before.

The Christians succeeding the Druidic hierarchy, conformed rather too readily to the prejudices of their converts, and consecrated the circuit of the grove anew to religion, and called it simply "*Doir*," the oak. Thus Columban founded, towards the end of the sixth century, two cele-

²⁰² Müller, *Geschichte der Schweiz*, i. p. 149.

brated monasteries; one in the oaken grove, in the town of Derry; the other at Doir-magh (the field of oaks), in the Kings County. There are many others, as Doire-more, Dore-arda, etc. Some were named Kil-doire, Kil-derry, from being constructed in groves of oak. Bishop Unwan, of Bremen, transformed in his diocese, twelve of those *sylvæ sacræ* into churches.²⁰³

The Romans supposed that Jupiter was worshipped by the Kelts, under the symbol of an oak. "*Jovem Keltæ colunt; Jovis autem apud eos simulacrum alta quercus est.*"²⁰⁴

The Highlanders of Scotland, however, go to the *clachans*, meaning the stone circle, when they are going to the church or kirk.

It may be observed, that it was from national assemblies, Ecclesia, Kyriace, that the Christia Ecclesia (Eglise, Chiesa, Kirk, Church), etc., took its name. In Hebrew, *kiriah* means, that which is surrounded by a wall. I noticed in the Grissons, in the word *baselga* (Basilica), an exception. More towards the interior of Switzerland, in the Waldstetten, there were, previous to the twelfth century, very few churches or chapels, and those were only visited ten or twelve times during the course of the year.

The Burgundian king, Sigismundus, had founded, in A.D. 515, at Agaunum, the famous monastery of St. Maurice,²⁰⁵ upon the ruins of a temple of Isis. It appears that the most ancient name of Agaunum, which, by-the-bye, extended as far as the little village of Mason, was Taranaïs,

²⁰³ Adam of Bremen, Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. c. 33.

²⁰⁴ Maximus Tyrius, dis. 38.

²⁰⁵ Sigismund may have only enlarged or restored it; since the name of St. Severus, as abbot of this monastery, occurs as early as the year 506. The lance of St. Maurice was kept there: it was the ensign of the Burgundian state.

Taranda; and later, also, *Castrum Taurodunense*. In Tyrol, we have the Tarantsberg, Donnersberg; and the Pass of the Splugen (Spelunca), had also the Keltic name of Tarvesedun. It is generally supposed, that this most ancient name of Taranais, or Taranda, for the present St. Maurice, alludes to the Keltic god of thunder and lightning, Taranydd, the thunderer;²⁰⁶ Taranais; Thor; the Egyptian Or, light; the old Phœnician 'Ur, god of light; the Hebrew Urim. However, as the abbey of St. Maurice was built upon the ruins of a temple of Isis, we may just as well allude, also, to the name of Tar-anis, a female deity (an Artemis), of which Lucan (i., v. 439) speaks, and who could be pacified only by human sacrifices.²⁰⁷ "Et quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro Teutates, horrensque feris altaribus Hesus, Et Taranis Scythicae non mitior ara Dianae." The statue of Diana Taurica was brought by Orestes to Lacedaemon. Human sacrifices were offered to her, which, it is pretended, Lycurgus abolished. It is curious, that in another name given to this Diana Taurica, we meet also with the allusion to *Och*. When Medea, after her flight from Colchis, arrived at Ithaca, she announced to the assembled people, that the goddess *Oreïlochia* (Diana), had arrived from the country of the Hyperboraeans (Chersonesus Taurica), for the happiness of mortals (Anton. Lib. c. 27).

The name of Agaunum is also Keltic, and alludes to its situation between steep and lofty precipices. *Coun, gaun*, signifies a rock (in ancient Brit., *cwn*), as well as a castle,

²⁰⁶ In Welsh, *taran*, thunder; *taranu*, to thunder; in Gaelic, *torrun*.

²⁰⁷ In some of the South Sea islands, the name of God is *Artua*; *Boora-Artuas*, pray to gods.

a fort, where the Rhone (*ag*) gushes forth from the Valais,²⁰⁸ and enters the swampy plain, formed by the deposit of its retarded current; and, hence, the name of *Aga un*. *Agaunum* is comparable to *Gaunissa*, *Gaun-uisge*, fortification near the water, the river. In Canton Appenzell, certain rocks are still called *Gauno*, *Gaundor*. We have, also, the town of *Agenum* (*Agen*), in Guienne.

At Pavia, an altar has been found, dedicated to Jupiter *Agganai*; which name may be allied to *Ag-deas*, *Agdis*, the Kelto-Iberian Baal of the holy river.²⁰⁹

The monastery was founded in honour of St. Maurice, and his companions, the martyrs of the Theban legion, sent from Egypt, by Diocletian, towards the Rhine, in aid of his associate in the Empire, Valerius Maximus (286—305). The building was considered, at that time (A.D. 515) a "*mirum opus*," to which erection, the bishop Maximus, of Geneva, largely contributed;²¹⁰ and among all the religious houses in Helvetia, none can boast of so remote an antiquity as that of St. Maurice.

Sigismund endowed it with corn-fields and vineyards in the Pays de Vaud, in the plain of Geneva, and as far as Vienne, on the Lower Rhone; as, likewise, with the town

²⁰⁸ The Romans built the bridge over the Rhone, at St. Maurice; and which was, in former times, the only carriage way into the Valais.

²⁰⁹ The Water Deity of the Kelts was ever regarded with alarm, on account of his destructive propensities. A Teutonic name was awarded to him of *Nocka*, *Nicur* (old Nick — *necare*), or *Necker*.

Altini refers the name *AGGANAI* to the Latin *agger*. — See *Sulle Antiche Lapidi Ticinesi*. Pavia, 1831.

²¹⁰ This bishop appears to have been kind and generous in general. I have observed, somewhere, that Avitus, Archbishop of Vienne, who died in A.D. 525, in a letter, thanks his friend Maximus, Bishop of Geneva, for the good fish of his lake, which he had sent him.

of Salins, in Upper Burgundy, and several woods and pastures in the Valais, and in the Vale of Aosta.

According to the golden Tremisses, struck at the Abbey, in the sixth and seventh century, it is possible that the king gave also to the monks, the privilege of coining. Sigismund, who had been the assassin of half a score of near relations, was himself at last taken prisoner at the Abbey, in A.D. 527, and put to death. His queen and two sons, were taken by Chlodomir, and beheaded at Orleans.

After the death of Sigismund and his family, Godomar, his brother, took refuge in the mountains of Helvetia; and, after the Franks had retired, he took possession of a great part of that country which was under the rule of his brother. Chlodomir, in an attempt to extinguish this reaction, was killed by Godomar in battle, at Vesperonce, near Vienne. Godomar maintained himself in his kingdom for several years; until, in A.D. 534, a new invasion of Franks, directed by Childebert and Chlotair, destroyed the power of the Burgundians.

Tremisses aurei exist of Godomar, struck at Lyons. It was Sigismund who established the royal residence and Mint of Burgundy, at Lyons. In A.D. 419, the Pennine Valais, at that time called Valinsa, with Octodurum as the principal place, had been annexed to the Province of Vienne.²¹¹

The monks of St. Maurice, thus richly endowed, gradually relaxed from their strict discipline, and the habits of frugality and industry that became them: they preferred hounds and hunting to the duties of the choir, and the inspection of their domestic concerns; and each lavished, individually, the revenues of the convent. Amadeus III.,

²¹¹ In A.D. 439, the Burgundians were already in Savoy (time of Valentinian III).

Count of Savoy, who had, in A.D. 1136, acquired a great ascendancy in these parts of the country, undertook to correct these disorders.

Part of the Lower Valais, St. Maurice, Thonon (Dina), Evian, and including also, on the other side of the lake, the town of Nion, had been erected into the Duchy of Chablais (Caballiacensis Ducatus, Caballicus Ager, alluding probably to the former Equestris, or Nion²¹²).

In A.D. 1032, Count Humbert de Maurienne, received of the Emperor Conrad II., the Caballicus Ager, which, in 1064, was subject to the illustrious House of Savoy. In 1138, Amadeus IV., was created a Duke of Chablais, by the Emperor Frederick II. In 1239, Amadeus V. presented the territory of St. Maurice to his sister, Margherite, Countess of Kiburg, but not the right of the Mint.²¹³

To Louis II., of the House of Savoy, who styled himself Count de Vaud, the town of Nion belonged, in right of the ample freeholds and feudal rights which, in 1260, the House of Savoy possessed in the Pays de Vaud, under Count Peter,²¹⁴ to whom the castle and town of Nion had been given as an inalienable fief, by the Archbishop of Besançon, in A.D. 1272.

In 1295, the Bishop of Lausanne, Guillaume de Champ-

²¹² The Spanish Caballero, heavy horse cavalier, from the Keltic *caballus*, Gaelic *capull*, or Irish *capall*. The ancient name of the town of Châlons-sur-Saône, was Cabaliodunum.

²¹³ (Cibario, della Economica Politica del Medio Evo. p. 487.) The British Museum possesses a coin of Chablais of that period: it is inscribed CHABLASII. DVX. Reverse: a temple, and PIANA RELIGO (Christiana Religio). [Formerly in the Pfister Collection.]

²¹⁴ He died at the Château Chillon, in 1286, at the age of sixty-six. When he was called away to his old dominions, the Pays de Vaud was governed in his absence by his lieutenant or bailiff. A French writer observes: "Quand le Comte surnommé le Petit Charlemagne fut demandé d'exhibiter ses titres sur le Pays de Vaud, il montra son épée."

vent, was at war with Louis I., Count de Vaud.²¹⁵ Coins which have the title as Seigneur de Vaud, still exist; but M. le Chevalier Promis,²¹⁶ seems rather inclined to attribute them to Louis II. (1302 — 1350). They are inscribed LVDOVIC DE SABAVDIA DOMINVS VAUDI TVTI (tutoris).

Spon, the worthy historian of the town of Geneva, observes: "L'année 1308, fut remarquable par quelques brouilleries, qu'eurent ensemble Looiys de Savoye, Seigneur de Vaux, avec l'Evesque (of Geneva), Celui là faisoit battre monnoye dans Nion, diocèse de Gèneve; ce que l'Evesque ne voulut pas souffrir," etc.

The monastery of St. Maurice (as stated before) also possessed estates in different parts of the Pays de Vaud, intermixed with others belonging to the Counts of Genevois (Gebennensis Ducatus), of which Annecy (Annesiacum) was the capital, situated on Lacus Annecius, about seventeen miles north of Chambry.²¹⁷

In 1011, Eldegard, Countess of Genevois, made a donation to the church of Versovy, which was situated in Pagus Equestricus; and, in 1124, Aymon, Count de Genevois, founded the abbey of Bon-mont, near Nion. In 1257, Versovy, St. Loup, Commanies, and other places, are mentioned as having been exchanged by them on Savoy, in 1350. It appears, that Catherine, Dame de Vaud (the only child of Louis II., who had no children by her three husbands) sells her feudal rights, in 1359, to Amadeus VI. (Comte Vert), for the sum of 160,000 gold florins.

The earliest coins of Lausanne which we can trace, are

²¹⁵ He died at Naples in 1302, at the age of fifty-two.

²¹⁶ Promis. *Monete dei Reali di Savoia*; vol. ii., pl. 3, fig. 1, supplement. Torino, 1841.

²¹⁷ The British Museum possesses some coins struck by the Counts of Genevois, of the fourteenth century. [Formerly in the Pfister Collection.]

the golden tremisses of the Burgundians, of the sixth century, and which are inscribed LAVSONNA FIT GVGGIOMV. M.²¹⁸ (monetarius). Vevey, we have in VIVATI.²¹⁹ Those of the town of St. Maurice are inscribed AGAVNV. FIT.²²⁰ A Tremissis of that period, in the British Museum, struck at the monastery of St. Maurice (Fanum S. Mauritii religiosissimum) is inscribed S. MAVRICI,²²¹ and represents the bust of that saint, however, without the nimbus—which generally is not found on well authenticated monuments earlier than the sixth century. The reverse of this interesting and rare coin is inscribed NICASIO MONET (arius). [From the Pfister Collection.]

The well-known Denarii of Lausanne, were first struck in the tenth century, by the bishops, not bearing however any of their names. They exhibit the primitive Christian temple, namely, still of Roman design, and named in the oldest documents "Opus Romanum." These coins are inscribed SEDES LAVSANE. The reverse shows a cross and CIVITAS EQVESTRES. In my opinion, these coins were issued from the mint of Lausanne till the end of the twelfth century. Others have considered this in a different way, and say, that these ecclesiastical coins, inscribed Sedes Lausanne, have been struck at the town of Nion, the Colonia Equestris.²²²

²¹⁸ *Revue Numismatique*, 1840, p. 223.

²¹⁹ Mader, *Kritische Beiträge zur Münzkunde des Mittelalters*. Prag., 1803, 8vo., vol. iii. p. 16.

²²⁰ The Marquis de Lagoy. *Mélanges Numismat.* Aix. 1845.

²²¹ On a tremissis, of the town of Mauriac (Auvergne), we read, MAVRIACO VIC. *Revue*, 1846, p. 281.

²²² It was the oldest Roman colony in Switzerland. Cæsar, 58 B.C., having established it at the Celtic Nivi-dun (New-Castle, New-Town), Romanised into Noviodunum (the name of the town of Soisson was also Noviodunum), a Roman military colony (Colonia Julia Equestris), which was composed mostly of a certain number of Chevaliers, *alæ Equitum singularium* (different from *Equites singulares Augusti*) which stood generally on the frontiers under prefects.

To this I beg to observe, that Lausanne had already enclosed within its diocese, at an early period, the greatest part of the worldly dominions of the abolished Episcopate of Nion (the episcopal jurisdiction and the castle and town were made over to the Bishop of Besançon), and likewise that part of the country still called after the destroyed town and Roman colony, *Civitas Equestris*, and also *Pagus*, or *Comitatus Equestricus*. It was situated between the two small rivers, the Versoy and Aubonne,²²³ (*Albona*) from the town of Rolle along the Lake to Satigny.

In A.D. 1080, the emperor, Henry IV., gave all the country, between the Alps and Mont Jura, which belonged to his adversary, King Rudolph, of Burgundy, to the Bishop Burchard, of Lausanne. It is true, that during some part of the Mediæval period, Nion had a mint, and the coins struck there resemble in type the episcopal denarii of Lausanne, but we have no knowledge, no proof, that the Nion mint was in activity before the occupation of part of the Pays de Vaud, by the Counts Peter and Louis, of the House of Savoy, during the thirteenth century. In fact, we know only of certain coins of Louis II. (1302—1330), as I have stated before, struck at Nion. Though Louis I. had already

²²³ The Itinerary places Nion on the road from Geneva to Lausonium, *Lacus Losuna*. Ptolemy (ii.9) assigns it to the Sequani. It seems to have been Cæsar's intention, by colonizing Nion, to keep, in that part of the country, the Helvetii in check, and guard the passes of the Jura.

It is, perhaps, of that cavalry (*alæ Equitum singularium*) drawn by Cæsar from Gaul, to make war upon Pompey, that Lucan speaks in the line "*Deseruere cavo tentoria fixa Lemano.*"

Niviodunum was devastated by the Alemanni, at the beginning of the reign of Honorius (A.D. 397). Two years afterwards, Honorius ceded that part of Eastern Gallia to the Burgundians, who firmly established themselves in the country about the Lake Leman.

received, from the Emperor Rudolph, of Hapsburg, the right of striking coins in any part of his dominions (1284). This right was confirmed in 1297, by the Emperor Adolphus of Nassau, to strike silver and gold coins.

I consider, therefore, with regard to the coins inscribed SEDES LAVSANE CIVITAS EQVESTRIS, that in proportion as the opulence of Lausanne and Geneva increased (they being the most important towns in Roman Helvetia), that of Nion declined, occasioned by the Episcopate of Lausanne having spread out already at an early period,²²⁴ and so, in consequence, having thus made all these acquisitions, Lausanne assumed to herself the boasting title of Civitas Equestris on her coins.²²⁵ As much as to say, that her ecclesiastical coins were first issued at her mint, at the period when the greatest part of the Civitas, or Pagus Equestris, belonged to the Sedes Lausanne.

Besides, we have observed, that the town of Nion was already included in the new created Duchy of Chablais, in the eleventh century. Furthermore, in favour of my argument, that these ecclesiastical coins, inscribed Civitas Equestris, were struck at Lausanne, and not at Nion, is, that Levade, in his Dict. Geograph. du Canton de Vaud (p. 162), tells us that there was formerly written over one of the gates of Lausanne, "Lausanne Civitas Equestris."

²²⁴ A.D. 517. The signature of a Bishop of Nion is mentioned at a most important electoral synod, held by King Sigismund, at the Burgundian town of Epauna (Epaonensis, Epauni), the site of which is supposed to be occupied by the hamlet of Epenassey, built on the debris of the mount Tauredunum, or Taurus, near Agaunum, which fell down in A.D. 562, because a very ancient Missal of St. Maurice mentions the locality of that council, under the name of Epona Agaunorum.

²²⁵ Compare a paper of mine on the coins of Sienna. Literary Gazette. London, October 12th, 1850, No. 1760.

Advancing from Switzerland towards the Rhine, which the Romans called "Rhenus Superbus," many Keltic names might be traced to prove that the number of places whereon Drusus (who died B.C. 9) built his fifty castles.—"Drusus in Rheni quidem ripa quinquaginta amplius castellis direxit" (Florus. lib. iv. 12)—were already either towns or habitations occupied by different Kelto-Germanic tribes.

Niegeß Leben ist hier am alten Rhein; es bewegt sich
Leicht und behende der Mensch, wie es erfordert sein Thun.

It may be here observed, that the army of the Rhine, which was charged with the keeping off the Germani, was the strongest of all the Roman forces serving on the frontiers, and, in fact, was the flower of the Roman army. It consisted of eight legions of militia, to which, according to Roman usage, was generally added a similar number of auxiliaries, that is to say, troops gathered from the subjected provinces. The total force may be rated at 100,000 men, of which the chief portion were stationed in the two head quarters, namely, Cologne (at that time the *Oppidum Ubiorum*, Tacit. *Annal.* i. 1, c. 36), and Mentz, the Roman *Moguntiacum* (*Aurea Moguntia*) that is to say, the Kelto-Germanic *Mo-gunti-ac*. I am not aware that an attempt has ever been made to explain the meaning of this name. The etymology of this primitive appellation of *Moguntiac*, the city of Mentz, I conceive signifies merely conflux, confluence, namely, the habitation, the town, where *Mo* (*Ma*), water, *Gunti*, joins, *ac*, water; hence, *Moguntiac* signifies the river Main (*Moenus*) joining the Rhine, like the Moselle (*Mosa*) joins the Rhine at Coblentz.²²⁶

²²⁶ Ammianus Marcellinus, in his *Lives of Constantius and Julian the Apostate* (A.D. 360) alludes to Coblentz.

Rogunzia! Dir sei mein Gruß entboten,
 Und deinem Strom mit seiner deutschen Flur
 Und deinem Dom mit seinen großen Töbten!²²⁷
 Geweihte Stätte, wo dem Troubadour
 In Abenddämmerung sein Mädchen lauschte,
 Wenn er im leichten Rahn vorüberfuhr.

The Keltic Mo, or Ma, reminds us of the English moist—we have the Moësa, a torrent which falls into the Ticino. Alci-moenis was the name of Ulm, on the Danube. The river Maine, in Ireland, flowing through the Barony of Troughamacy, was also called *Mang*. Ossian (speaking probably of the fair Evir-ellin) says, "Her arm was white like Gormal's snow, and her bosom whiter than the foam of the Main;" and again, "Lulan's warriors fell in blood, or rose in terror on the waves of the Main."

We have, also, the Egyptian words *Ma*, *Mô*, and *Môû* for water²²⁸ (in Hebrew, *Mayin*). Lepsius observes, that in the desert of Nitria is a plain, which has the name of *Bahr-bela-ma*, that is, river without water. *Mageritt*, was the name of Madrid, as late as A.D. 930, and it is supposed alludes to the environs, which were formerly rich in water. It is known that the small river, Mazanares, near Madrid was formerly navigable.

The Sanscrit has *yukti*, for joining, from the word *yui*, to join; from which, also, the Latin *jungo* may have been derived. The Hindoo *yoni*, i. e., female nature, is also derived from the same root, *yu*, to mix;²²⁹ *jani*, a mother.

²²⁷ The Emperor Louis I., the Pius, died in A.D. 840.

²²⁸ We find *Ma* in the meaning for water in five East African languages. See proceedings of the Philological Society, vol. iv., 1850, p. 11.

In the Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions, Dr. Oppert (p. 41) reads "Mi" for water, "Mi-Kaldan," the water, the river of the Chaldeans (now-a-days Diala.)

²²⁹ The symbol for *yoni*, is the triangle, which, in the hieroglyphics of Egypt, is supposed to signify, joy, pleasure, prosperity.

We may observe, that the country about Moguntia, was inhabited by the Catti, the present Hessians (Hessus Mars), which reminds one of the Cathac-Gaali of Scotland,²³⁰ who called their stone enclosures "Caisel" (Cashel). In Gaelic, *caistul* and *chaistel*, means a tower (the round towers in Ireland are generally called the Castle by the country people), a castle, or fort, which, singularly enough, corresponds also to the name of the Hessian capital, Cassel (A.D. 913, Chasella).

Marcus Agrippa, the favoured general and son-in-law of Augustus, originally erected some strong fortifications against the Germani. Drusus Germanicus afterwards built the extensive fort of Moguntiacum, or Moguntia. He built, also, a magnificent aqueduct, and a stone bridge over the Rhine. A Roman monument, still existing, of that early date, is the Drusus-stone (Eichelstein, better Adlerstein — Eagle-stone), erected to the honour of Drusus, who likewise built a fort or castle on the opposite side of the river (Castellum). In A.D. 70, Moguntiacum was garrisoned by the XXII. Legion (Primigenia Pia Fidelis), which had been engaged with the army, under Titus, in the conquest of Judæa, and the destruction of Jerusalem. The Emperor Trajan erected a fort on the point of land by the Rhine and Maine. Adrian strengthened the outer works of the town by two forts. In A.D. 233, Alexander Severus was murdered at Moguntia by his own soldiers, in consequence of the rigour of his military discipline.

The town was eventually laid in ruins by the Germani.

²³⁰ Among the ancient Scots, the common soldiers were called *Catherni*, *Caterans*, or fighting bands: *cattun*, warrior. In the Highlands, the Clan Chattan were once a powerful people. The name of a strong mountain pass towards their habitations, was *Starshnach-nan-gai'el*.

It was restored by the Franks; and Charlemagne built a convent and school at the neighbouring Albansberg.

At Mentz, a fine museum is now established in one of the former palaces of the Electors, and contains many important Roman antiquities.

Bingen (Bingium, Pingua), the Keltic Bingiac, still so inscribed on coins of Charlemagne, seems to allude, likewise, to Bin-d-inis, which signifies an elevation of land nearly surrounded by water. In Scotland, we have a mountain called Ben Nevis, whose summit is seldom free from snow. Pen Val (Penn-fhail), in Welsh, signifies the head of the enclosure. Others have it from *binn*, elevation; and *ca*, house; *bin-ga*, house on the elevation.

Bingen is beautifully situated on the point of land formed by the junction of the Rhine and the Nahe (*naos*, running). Behind the town, rises a lofty hill, on the summit of which are the ruins of the ancient castle of Klopp, standing on the site of a Roman castrum.

The Roman Bingium, or Bingiacum, was destroyed by the Alemanni, in A.D. 410; and again, in 883, by the Normans. Tacitus, in his description of the war against the Treviri, mentions a bridge over the river Nahe.

It is said that Charlemagne planted the vine near Bingen.

Wo jezt der Durstige seinen Brand
In wenig Geld ertränket;
Dieweil das kleine Hessenland,
Die größten Schoppen schenket.

The etymology of Bacharach was considered, for more than a century up to the time of Victor Hugo, as derived from Bacchi Ara.²³¹ "Le nom," says M. Victor, "semble

²³¹ We have a Thronus Bacchi in the former name of Tarbach, a town between the Rhine and the Moselle. Bachia, the small town of Bach, in Hungary; Bachi, a village in Switzerland; Bachy, a borough near Tournay. There is a Bagacum (Bagacum Nerviorum), a town of the Nervii, in Gallia Belgica, now a small place of the name of Bavey, near Mons.

un ancien cri des bacchanales accomodé pour le sabbat;" namely, the Romans having either found there the vine, or planted it themselves, and erected an altar to Bacchus; or, as the old edition of the Rhenish antiquary has it, "der Heiden Wein und Saufgott." Even the omnipotent newspaper, the *Times* (September 15th, 1849), thought it worth while to mention it. It says, "The water of the Rhine is at present so low, that the sunken rocks, known as the *Ara Bacchi*, near the town of Bacharach, which, it is supposed, takes its name from them, are visible. The opportunity will be seized to destroy them by blasting; but they are first to be carefully examined, to discover whether, according to tradition, they bear any inscription."

I am not aware that any attempt has been ever made to give a different meaning to the etymology of Bacharach. I consider this name altogether Kelto-Germanic, and that Bacharach signifies the position of the town, where the river (the Rhine) turns in an eddy, or whirlpool, which dangerous pass is called "*Wildes Gefoahrt*." The distinguished writer, M. Victor Hugo, also observed, that on this spot, "le Rhin s'engouffre et tourne sur lui-même dans un entonnoir de rochers. Ce mauvais pas s'appelle le *Wildes Gefoehrt*."²³² He continues: "Bacharach est dans un paysage farouche. Des nuées presque toujours accrochées à ses hautes ruines, des rochers abruptes, une eau sauvage enveloppent dignement cette vieille ville sévère qui a été Romaine, qui a été Gothique, et qui ne veut pas de venir moderne." And here the gay Frenchman continues: "Je dois pourtant dire, en historien fidèle, que j'ai vu une

²³² *Beulach*, among other significations, is a term amongst mariners for the ninth wave, said to be much higher than the intervening eight.

"*Altior insurgens decimæ ruit impetus undæ*." -- *Ovid*.

charmante marchande de modes installée avec ses rubans roses, etc., sous une effrayable ogive toute noire du XII.^e siècle. Dans ce vieux bourg-fée, les goîtreux et les jolies filles, ont dans le regard dans le profil et dans la tournure, je ne sais quels airs du XIII. siècle."

Reading these observations, I thought M. Victor might have made great progress in the study of mediæval coins.

But, returning to our etymological researches in Bacharach, we have *Bach*, the river (the Rhine), *ar*, quick or rapid,²³³ and *ac*, water. *Bacarrach*, in Gaelic, signifies threatening, denouncing evil, and *Bachlach* means curled in ringlets. Bachra (now Baghra) is a townland, in the west of the parish of Clonmacoise, King's County, Ireland. The French town of Bavay, we have in the old name of Bagacum.

The word *Bach* occurs in hundreds of places and rivers everywhere, as well as the termination in *ac* so often noticed already, and which the Roman writers expressed through *acum* (*acus*), as in Moguntiacum, Antoniacum, Bachacum, etc. In Switzerland, there are the rivers Steinach, Roschach, Fischach, Salmach, Goldach, and the Schwarz-ag, in the Black Forest.

Ar, *Aar*, *Are*, occurs likewise in the names of many places and rivers, which, according to their nature, are rapid; and therefore *ar*, in Keltic, occurs also sometimes in the signification of havoc, desolation. *Arre*, or *Araforce*, is the name of a waterfall, near Ulleswater, where the echo of dashing and gurgling waters never dies. *Ar-ran*, in Keltic, signifies the current, and *ragra*, the rushing, roaring. The Irish *Arrachtach* means mighty, powerful. *Ar-Avan* is the name of the river at St. Jean de Maurienne,

²³³ In old Spanish, *vir-ar*, *bir-ar*, signifies turning, turning a ship.

the rapid Arc is a torrent from the Cenis, near the small town of Modano, which hurries soundingly on among masses of opposing rocks. In "Agara," I believe we have the river Moldau.

We may even allude to the name of the Garonne, Garuna, i.e., Garu-avon, rapid river,²³⁴ which takes its source in the Pyrenees, at a vale called Aran. In Ireland, we have the small town of Dungarvan, i.e., Dun-gar-avan. In Scotland, the foaming Garry, and the falls of the Garr-Valt, and I believe the rough waters of the eastern coast of Norfolk are called Garruenos. In some districts of the South of France, we have the river Var. *Var*, in Sanscrit, is water, and *Varuna*, God of Water. In Egypt, *Iaro* and *Ior* for river. We may yet mention the Ag-ar-ana,²³⁵ Agernthal, through which the river Elan runs (Canton Valais).

Near Loch-Fin (white lake), we have the Ar-ay. I have before observed, that *ar*, when not connected with the word water, has sometimes also the different meaning of *on*, or near.

And so, we have the Aar (Arola, Arula), which attains a considerable size, by means of tributary streams from all the dark icy valleys through which it passes, and finally rushes over the granite rocks of Handeck, a precipice of a hundred feet. The Ar-ve,²³⁶ near Geneve; the Arbach, in

²³⁴ A noted river in Persia has the name of Kárún. In New South Wales, not far from Sydney, is the river Vara-Vara (Bara).

²³⁵ Ag-ar and Ain occurs also in the names of wells in North Africa (James Hamilton, Wanderings in North Africa. London. 1856).

In the Saharah, is the town of Ain-Mahdy, as well as the spring and town of El-Ahwad (Aghouat), and the Ras El-ayoon is the head of the springs. In ancient names of rivers, we have the Ar-ach-tus (Epirus), Ar-axes, Ach-eron, etc.

²³⁶ One who has resided in the Marquesas Islands, in the South Seas, mentions a famous mineral spring, which the

Canton Zurich; the Arabona (Ar-avon) Rab, in Hungary; Araxus. The rivers Ar-ay and Shir-ay, in Scotland, which pay tribute to Loch-Fine. Then the Irish islands of Arran, the largest in the group is Arr-an-more. The remains of an old fort are called Dun Aengus.

Oh! Arranmore, loved Arranmore,
How oft I dream of thee,
And of the days when, by thy shore,
I wandered young and free.

T. MOORE.

Aar, in ancient German, is the word for eagle (the quick sailer),²³⁷ *Arnold*, *Arnolldr* (old eagle); in Keltic, it is *Eir* and *Ery*, for eagle (*Eri-t-ain*, the rapid river, Eridanus). The Scotch have Aern and Carn. In Wales, part of a mountainous country is called *Craigian-eryri*, the crags of the eagles.²³⁸ In Etruscan, we have *Aracos* for a hawk, and *Antar* is the name for the eagle. Diodorus tells us, that the Nile (*Okeanos*) was afterwards called *Aetos* (Aquila), a translation of the Egyptian word *Acham* *Achem'Ahom*, for an eagle, which almost corresponds again with the Keltic *Agn-ar*, a sea-eagle, osprey; and from the Keltic *Agl*, the wing, is formed the Roman *Ales*. In Southern Tyrol, we have *Agula* and *Agol*, for Eagle.

islanders hold in high estimation. They call it "Arva-Wai." Arva means strong, and Wai is water. In Tahiti, the word "Arva" means sometimes brandy (reminds one of the Keltic Uisge, Uisk, water, now-a-day transformed into whiskey).

"My good little girls," said a missionary, "no run after sailors—no go where they go, they harm you. Where they come from, no good people talk to 'em—just like dogs. Here, they talk to Pomaree, and drink 'Arva' with Poofai (a distinguished chief in the island)."

²³⁷ The blowing of the winds was in general considered, by the ancients, as an effect of the moon. Among the Egyptians, Isis bore a vulture on her head. In England, a species of the hawk is called the Wind-hover.

²³⁸ *Ar-weinydd*, in Welsh, means a leader.

Summing up our long argument, we may conclude, that "*Bach-ar-ach*" signifies a place where a whirlpool exists in a river.

Andernach, Antonacum Artonacum, was a Roman frontier town on the Rhine, and the head quarters of a military prefect; it was yet a city of some note in A.D. 359, and, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, was called Antunacum.

Cellarius, in "Notitia Orbis Antiqui," speaks of it as a city of the empire, which is called Artonacum and Antunacum. It means on, or near, the water, the river; similar to the town of Antwerp (i.e., on, or at, the wharf),²³⁹ Antibes, etc. The Lithuanian language has Ant-upys, for a river country.²⁴⁰

It appears that the Keltic *aa*, *ac*, and *ach*, occur long before the Roman *aqua*.

The Swedes have still the *aa* for water, the Gothic was *ahwa*; the Anglo-Saxons had it in *ea* (Ea-land), which changed into *eau*, and so did the *ac* into *ay*, as we have observed before. But the Franks changed the *ac* and *ach* into *acqs* (aquæ Augustæ) and into *aix* (Aachen, Aix la Chapelle).

In the compound names of South-Britain, we often find *ax* or *ex*, as in Axminster and Exeter (Miniriacum) which answers also for the *esk*, in Scotland, the North and South Esk join below Dalkeith. In Wales, we have it in Eskdale, and also the river Esk, at Musselburgh, which receives from the Gray mountains several streams, one has the name

²³⁹ *Deoch-an-doruis*, the drink at the door, which, according to ancient hospitality in Scotland, was not charged in the reckoning.

²⁴⁰ Schleiger, Handbuch der Litanischen Sprache. Prag, 1856, p. 145.

of Brellil-Vach. In South Wales, we have the rivers Usk, Esca, and Isca; also, in Devon, is a river of the name of Esca.

We may yet mention the Tour d'Aix (the Castrum in Ago), in the country of the Gruyere. Aa, is a small river in the Canton of Underwalden, where there is likewise Aadorf and Aathal; near Graveliness is also a river called the Aa. Furthermore, we have towns in France and Italy assimilating in Agedinacum, Agenadicum, Acguinis, Acqui, and also in the river Ache, near Bregenz, etc.

And now, having made a somewhat wide excursion, I must take leave of the kind reader for the present, and hope he will pardon me should he observe leaves of Spring and leaves of Autumn in the same picture.

J. G. PFISTER.

London,
23rd July, 1857.

IX.

ON A TETRADRACHM OF ALEXANDER
STRUCK AT ARADUS.

BY THE LATE W. H. SCOTT, M.D.

It may seem hardly worth while to lay before the Society so common a coin as a tetradrachm of Alexander the Great. I have some reason, however, to think this an unpublished, or at any rate, an unexplained, variety of these very common, though not less interesting coins.

The obverse is of rather a peculiar style of fabric. My means of comparison are so scanty that I am quite unable to say whether or not it has the characteristic marks of a Syrian or a Phœnician mint, although the symbols on reverse lead me to infer its Phœnician origin.

The reverse type I need not describe, as it is perfectly known to every member of the Society.

Below the throne are a bee and the Greek letter A. The bee is common to the coins of Ephesus and Aradus, but the initial of the latter town shows at once that the coin belongs to it. If this were all, I should not have thought the coin worth the notice of the Society, but it may be seen that in the field, before the knees of Jupiter, there occurs a letter resembling F (F) which is the Phœnician *Aleph*, א, the initial of the name of Aradus.

I am not aware that this bilingual coin has been published as yet; if so, it has escaped the attention of Dr. Judas, who mentions no such coin in his very useful "*Étude démon-*

strative de la langue Phénicienne," which contains every Phœnician inscription and coin known up to 1847.

Pellerin (*Mélanges*, I., 125, seq., pl. ii.) has already classed to Aradus coins of Alexander, with the monogram AP and a palm-tree (No. 13); with a bee, and no letter or monogram (No. 14); and with an *acroterion* (No. 15). Eckhel, however, while he sanctioned the attribution of the first class, threw doubt on that of the others. It is very probable that those bearing the bee without the distinguishing letter A, which occurs on my coin, may be of Ephesus. The workmanship ought, however, to decide this point, if any dependence can indeed be placed on the fabric of Alexander's coins as indicating their locality. This coin certainly has the slightly concave reverse and thick massive form which Consinéry stated (Eckhel, ii., p. 103) to belong to those usually found in Macedonia, at the same time that the accessory symbols seem to give it to the East. The fabric, indeed, is very different from that of all the coins of Alexander which I have had an opportunity of examining, among which were one or two of those classed to Amphipolis, from the lamp used as a symbol on them. Their number has been, however, too restricted to enable me to form a positive opinion; the casts laid before the Society will afford them the means of judging.

X.

ON THE WEIGHT OF SASSANIAN COINS.

BY PROFESSOR MOMMSEN.

(COMMUNICATED BY THE LATE W. H. SCOTT, M.D.)

THE weights of Sassanian coins communicated by Mordtmann have given me an opportunity of inquiring into their relation to the contemporary Roman coinage. A few words will suffice to communicate my results, which were mostly negative.

Two of the oldest coins of the dynasty appear pretty clearly to be struck on the Roman standard. First, Mordtmann's No. 1 of 60 As=44·46 grains; probably a badly struck and worn coin, of the denarius weight. The full weighted denarius of this period weighs about 52 grains. Second, Mordtmann's No. 4 of 255 As. (some rather lighter) =188·95 grains; evidently the weight of the tetradrachm, as struck by the later Arsacidæ (Mionnet gives coins of Vologeses III. weighing 254 and 246 grs. French = 208·28 and 201·32 grains); as also a coin of Antiochia (Poids, p. 187, No. 279) struck under Elagabalus, the contemporary of Ardeschir, which weighs 224 grs. French=183·68 grs.

Here ends, however, the correspondence. The gold coins differ altogether in weight from the Roman, as well as the greater part of the silver; they are easily classed thus, following Mordtmann:—

			grs.
Gold	Whole pieces	Ardeschir I. 226—238	130·86
		Shahpur II. 308—380	130·04
	Half "	Shahpur III. 383—388	65·94
		Khosru I. 531—579	62·98
Silver	The ordinary coins		62·24

Besides which, coins of $1\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, and $\frac{1}{4}$ occur.

The gold pieces of 111—113 grs., struck by Shahpur I., 238—269, and in the early part of the reign of Shahpur II., 308—380, remain anomalous, and at present no better explanation presents itself than to recognise them as reductions of the larger coins, the issuing of which was afterwards stopped, so that instead of these light *aurei* they coined full-weight *half-aurei* [using this word for convenience].

If we ask the denomination of the coins, it is evident that gold and silver were coined into the same unit, and since this is divided into six parts it must be the *drachma*. We find also this name under Justinian, in Cosmas Indicopleustes in Montfaucon's *Nova coll. Patrum*, ii. l. xi., p. 338, who relates an anecdote, how in Taprobana (Ceylon) a Roman and a Persian merchant attempted to demonstrate to the king, from their coins, the power and wealth of their respective countries. The gold coin of the Persians is here called, *δραχμὴ τουτέστι τὸ μιλιάρισιον*; this last expression, at that time, was applied by the Romans to any large silver coin.

But whence comes the weight? The answer is remote and yet near at hand; it is the old national weight, the Persian gold drachm of 78 grs. French=63·72 grs. After Alexander it was replaced, at least in the gold currency, by the Attic drachm. It is remarkable that the Sassanians not only recommenced to strike gold, which was an imperial prerogative, not permitted to dependent states, and had not been done by the Arsacidæ, but did so on the old Eastern standard. Their holy books are connected with Darius and ignore Hellenism: they were consistent, therefore, here also; and not only the fire-altar, but even the weight of the coins is part of this remarkable *Renaissance*.

XI.

NOTE ON A SUPPOSED COIN OF CALYNDA.

DR. VON KOEHNE, in his letters to M. Rauch (Mem. Soc. Arch. St. Petersburg, vol. iv. p. 354), describes a coin which he classes to Calynda, in Caria, a city of which only one coin has yet been published. He describes it as follows:—

Obv.—Laureated head of Zeus to right.

Rev.—ΑΛΥΝΔΕ ·· Eagle between a ring (such as was used for a mark by archers), which is decorated with a tænia and a laurel branch. Below, ΑΠΟΛΛΩ ΟΕΡΤΕ. Æ. 5.

This coin, however, belongs to Blaundos, in Lydia, and not to Calynda. I possess a specimen which, although, like that of Dr. von Koehne, it is too small for the die, reads distinctly . ΑΛΥΝΔΕ . . The difference between the Α and Λ is quite clear on my coin, and that of Dr. von Koehne must be either rubbed in that part, or altered, since I can refer to other specimens corroborating my reading. The Wellenheim Catalogue (p. 285, Nos. 6256, 6256 a), describes two specimens, the first of which is described in full as bearing the legend ΒΑΛΥΝΔΕ . . ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ. ΘΕΟΤΕΝ. Reference is made to Mionnet iv. 20, 99. Pellerin also (Recueil ii. plate xliii. 27), engraves a specimen under Blaundos. All these descriptions, and my coin, agree in placing the eagle between a

caduceus and a branch of laurel, instead of the ornamented ring of Dr. von Koehne, which was simply an indistinct caduceus. The difference between ΘΕΟΤΕΝ and ΟΕΡΤΕ is very slight, as an indistinct O might resemble P easily enough. Sestini (*Classes Generales*) has already described a coin of Calynda as follows:—"Laureated head of Jupiter & ΚΑΛΛΙΝΔΕΩΝ. Eagle on a thunderbolt." The double Λ renders it probable that this coin is not of Blaundos, though in the same plate of Pellerin we see an analogous coin, on which the eagle holds a sceptre. The name is written with one Λ only in ancient writers. Dr. von Koehne has proposed to correct it into ΚΑΛΥΝΔΕΩΝ, he writes it, however, ΚΑΛΙΝΔΕΩΝ. I do not observe any other specimen which might clear up the difficulty as to its proper legend. If the double Λ is only an error of Sestini's, it probably belongs to Blaundos, like the present coin.

WILLIAM H. SCOTT.

XII.

NOTE ON THE COINS OF MEREDATES AND UIPHOBA.

I am anxious to call the attention of numismatists to the coins of Meredates and Uiphoba, classed, though perhaps without much certainty to Characene (Millingen, *Sylloge*, p. 85, tab. iv. 67; Lindsay, *Coinage of Parthia*, tab. x. Nos. 13, 14). These coins have not yet been completely read, as far as I know, in spite of the number now known, which is pretty large. Mr. Lindsay (l. c. No. 14), engraves one reading, apparently ΥΙΦΟΒΑ ΒΑCΙΑ ΜΕΡΕΔΑΤ

BACIEAN which latter word appears correctly as BACIAEYC on the coin engraved by the Baron de Chaudoir (Corrections and Additions, plate iv. 39), while the coin engraved in Millingen seems to read ΥΙΦΟΒΑ ΒΑCΙ. ΜΕΡΕΔΑΤ ΒΑCΙΑΙCС, *sic*.

There is still a word before the head of Uiphoba, below her name, which is differently represented. Thus Millingen's engraving has OM, while his text omits to mention it; Mr. Lindsay's No. 14 has . OM . . ; M. de Chaudoir's coin has ΟΗΑΙ, while a specimen which I possess reads distinctly OM^K. A comparison of more specimens might perhaps throw some light on this. I have been inclined to question the explanation of YNΔ as a date, from its occurrence on so many coins, and the absence of any other date, which might reasonably be expected to occur, if these letters denote a date. I cannot, however, explain them, unless by supposing that they are to be joined to the enigmatic word which I have already mentioned, thus:—YNΔOMAK, if the anomalous letter be indeed an A, which is very uncertain. This, however, by no means a satisfactory result, as we cannot tell what it means, whether it is a title belonging to Meredates, or perhaps the name of his father, imperfectly written, as is the name of Meredates himself. Meredates is a pure Persian name, *Gift of Meher*, or *Mithra*, *Undomakos*, would be, however, a barbarous, or Parthian (?) name, like the Indo-Parthian *Undo-pherres*. The occurrence, indeed, of this latter name may serve to shew the possibility of such a name as *Undomak*.

I shall be glad if this note induces any numismatist to compare the coins of these unknown sovereigns, so as to confirm or reject my conjectures.

WILLIAM H. SCOTT.

MISCELLANEA.

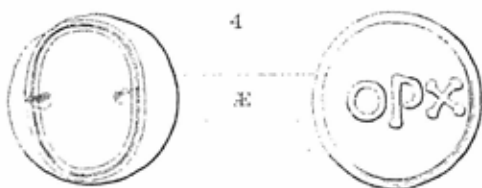
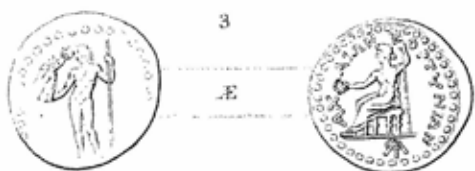
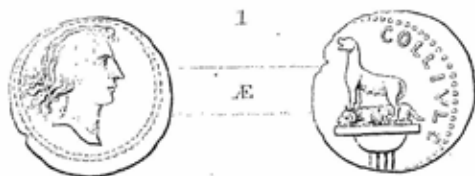
THE COINAGE FOR ENGLAND.—Last year, 1856, there were coined at the Mint 4,806,159 sovereigns, 2,391,909 half-sovereigns, 2,201,760 florins, 3,168,000 shillings, 2,779,920 sixpences, 95,040 groats, 4,158 fourpences, 1,018,298 threepences, 4,752 twopences, and 7,920 silver pence. The total value of the gold coined last year was £6,002,114, and that of the silver coin £402,528, the real cost or value of the metal having been £434,609. The copper coinage of 1856 included 1,212,288 pence, 1,942,080 half-pence, 1,771,392 farthings, and 913,920 half-farthings, making a total value of £143,717. The purchase-value of the copper was only £73,324. Last year 234,200,371 ounces of silver coin was purchased for re-coinage, at a nominal value of £677,550; and the Mint value at 5s. 6d. an ounce being £602,446, it follows that the loss by re-coinage was £75,104.

INDO-SCYTHIC COINS.—Professor Wilson, in his *Ariana* (p. 364), has shown that the Indo-Scythic coins of Kabul, bearing Siva and his bull on the reverse, were formerly so numerous and important as to have given a new word (*Nānaka*) to the Sanscrit language. In pursuance of the same train of thought, it may be worth remarking that even at the present day, in the south-western extremity of India, coins, as distinguished from current money, are called, both in the Canarese and Malayālam languages, *Nānya*. The similarity between this word and the Sanscrit is still more perceptible, when both are written in the native character, as the second N is, in each case, the peculiar letter termed by grammarians, the cerebral.—G. SPARKES.

ERRATA.

- Page 86, line 20, *for circon da, read circonda.*
 " 101, " 20, *for le battra la monnoie, read se battra la monnoie.*
 " 104, " 31, *for Vindossa, read Vindonissa.*
 " — " 32, *for Vindossa, read Vindonissa.*
 " 127, " 9, *for Swo n, read Sworn.*
 " — " 32, *for Unti, read Until.*
 " 147, " 6, *for Silberjittel, read Silberjittel.*
 " 155, " 2, *for n the tops, read on the tops.*
 " — " 20, *for connec ed, read connected.*
 " 164, " 20, *for Albaris, read Abaris.*
 " 197, " 15, *for Solodurensse, Castrum, read Solodurensse-Castrum.*
 " 213, " 2, *for Hesus Mars, read Hesus, Mars.*
 " 215, " 19, *for Gefoahrt, read Gefoehrt.*





XIII.

ON CERTAIN RARE GREEK COINS RECENTLY
ACQUIRED BY THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, Nov. 29th, 1855.]

MY DEAR VAUX,

I quite agree with you in opinion, that several coins among those lately purchased for the Museum, might be worthy of mention at the next meeting of the Numismatic Society; and I know of no way more fitly to carry out your suggestion than by means of a letter to yourself.

I will notice, in their geographical order, those coins which seem most likely to prove interesting to the Society, and proceed without further preface.

No. I. The first is a very uncommon copper coin of Corinth, which may be described as follows:—

Obv.—Female head, to the right; the hair tied at the back of the head.

Rev.—COL. L. IVL. C[OR]. A lioness standing over a recumbent ram, and resting its fore-paws upon it. The group placed on the capital of a fluted Doric column, [στήλη]. Æ. size 5. Pl. No. 1.

We have the authority of Eckhel¹ for regarding this remarkable coin as presenting us, on the obverse, with the portrait of the celebrated Lais of Corinth; and, on the reverse, with a representation of her tomb. The description of Pausanias is by far too graphic to be mistaken. His words are:—

Πρὸ δὲ τῆς πόλεως κυπαρίσσω ἐστὶν ἄλλος ὀνομαζόμενον Κράνειον. Ἐνταῦθα Βελλεροφόντου τέ ἐστι τέμενος, καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ναὸς Μελαινίδος, καὶ τάφος Λαίδος, ᾧ δὴ Λάαινα

¹ Doct. Num. Vet., vol. ii. p. 239.

ἐπίθημα ἐστὶ κριὸν ἔχουσα ἐν τοῖς προτέροις ποσίν. (Lib. ii. [Corinth], cap. 2, § 4.)

Which may be translated as follows:—"Now, before the city [of Corinth], there is a grove of cypress trees, called Craneion, where there is both a sacred enclosure of Bellero-phontes, and a shrine of Aphrodite Melænis; as well as the tomb of Lais: the monument on which, is a lioness, holding a ram in her fore-paws."

The words of Pausanias, taken in connexion with our coin, shew that it presents us with a representation of the ἐπίθημα, placed over the grave of Lais. This, the coin proves to have been a piece of sculpture surmounting a στήλη. I suspect that such a piece of sculpture is precisely what is meant by the word ἐπίθημα,—an *epithem*, if the word must be written in English.

This στήλη was evidently a fluted Doric column, *the capital of which* alone is represented on the coin; and, which, as to style and form, was in conformity with many other Greek στήλαι which have been, from time to time, discovered at Athens.

It is to be regretted that Pausanias does not allude to the meaning of this remarkable group; and it seems to have been considered by Eckhel so difficult and obscure, that he has not ventured to give us any explanation of it. Its general allusive meaning is, indeed, sufficiently plain. In the meantime, we cannot forbear to call attention to the great interest which attaches to this representation. At the end of two thousand years, it unexpectedly enables us to test the accuracy of the ancient antiquary, and to perceive with what latitude his words are to be taken. No one, probably, from the description of Pausanias, would have imagined that the monument of Lais was such as we have it here represented to us. The lioness bestrides the ram

with its hind-legs; and rests its fore-paws on the shoulders of its victim.

On looking into the works of the older numismatic writers, I find that our coin was first engraved by Gessner;³ but his representation of it is defective, and omits the Doric capital, giving the view of the group from the opposite side. Gessner, seems to have copied his engraving from one two centuries older, by Eneas Vico, which I have hitherto not been able to discover.

Pellerin,⁴ in 1763, published one of these coins, among his uncertain ones; he consequently offers no explanation of the type.

Sestini,⁵ in 1796, gives engravings of two more coins of this type, very ill executed, and, in a most obscure passage, testifies to their rarity by observing that he was never able to procure a specimen for the Ainslie Collection, and that the celebrated collection of Cousinery (now at Munich) did not contain one.

The passage in Eckhel (in 1794), before referred to, is therefore the earliest notice of this very remarkable representation with reference to the words of Pausanias; and I think we may conclude, from the mere inspection of this coin, that during the Roman period, and probably much earlier, the Corinthians honored *Lais* as a divinity.⁶

In the admirable work, by Visconti, *Iconographie Grecque* (3 vols. in 4to. Paris, 1811, with a very large folio volume of plates), the portrait of *Lais* will be found, in plate 37, fig. 2; and the description, in vol. i. page 316. In the 8vo. edition of Milan, 1824 (which is very inferior to the ori-

³ Imp. Rom., tab. 5, No. 26 figure. 1738. Folio.

⁴ Recueil, vol. iii. p. 129, plate 116, fig. 5.

⁵ Descript. Num. Vet., 4to. Lipsiæ, 1796. Page 188, pl. iv. figg. 8 and 9.

⁶ See a paper in the Numismatic Journal, vol. i. p. 97, written to shew that *all persons* on coins are there placed as divinities.

ginal), the portrait is repeated, fig. 2, plate xxxvii., and the description in vol. i. p. 439.

In conclusion, I may be permitted to remark, that a few years previous to B.C. 46 (in which year Julius Cæsar colonised Corinth and rebuilt the city), the Romans seem to have conciliated the Corinthian public, and imperfectly atoned for the severity of Mummius, about a century before, by an extended revival of all the old Corinthian myths on the copper coins of the city, which would, of course, pass into the hands of the bulk of the population, and be acceptable and agreeable to them.

No. 2. The second coin which I beg leave to point out, is also of Corinth. It may be described as follows;—

Obv.—SE. naked male figure, standing; seen nearly in front, holding a rudder in each hand.

Rev.—COR. Pegasus, galloping, to the right. Æ. size 3½. Pl. No, 2.

A similar specimen was first published by Pellerin in 1763,⁷ but as it was probably in poor condition, he read CE instead of SE, on the obverse; and, in consequence, regarded the figure as representing the port of Cenchreæ; of which CE seemed to form the initial letters.

The meaning of the letters SE, on this and several other coins of Corinth, seems never to have been satisfactorily explained.

Eckhel, however,⁸ with his usual tact, corrected the mistake of Pellerin, but appears only to approach the true meaning of the type.

The real meaning of this remarkable representation seems to be *a personification of the Isthmus itself*; the *two rudders* being symbolical of the *two seas*, which the Isthmus of Corinth divided.

The territory of the Isthmus having been regarded from

⁷ Recueil, p. 113, tab. xvii, fig. 18.

⁸ Doct. Num. Vet., vol. ii. p. 239.

the earliest times as peculiarly sacred, probably from the celebration of the games on that spot, became a favorite subject for the sculptor; and from the statues, the representations passed to the coins of the city.

If any proof were required as to the true meaning of this type, I should appeal to another coin: *coins being always the best commentators on coins.*

The proof to which I allude, is a coin of Corinth, of Hadrian, probably unique, in the collection of W. R. Hamilton, Esq., published by Millingen,⁹ which most happily bears on it the word ISTHMVS, around a venerable bearded seated figure, holding a rudder in each hand; thus leaving *no doubt* as to the meaning of the rudders, which are as much symbols of *the sea in general*, as the trident and the dolphin, so often found in union with the rudder, on coins of the Roman period.¹⁰

'The Roman poets, by their application of the epithet "*bimaris*" to the city of Corinth, confirm what has just been said, and illustrate these statues holding rudders, which were perhaps suggestive of the epithet to the minds of the poets.

Hence we find in Ovid,

"Bimari gens orta Corintho."¹¹

"Quæque urbes aliæ bimari clauduntur ab isthmo,
Exteriusque sitæ bimari spectantur ab isthmo."¹²

and in Horace,

"Laudabunt alii claram Rhodon, aut Mitylenen,
Aut Ephesum, bimarivæ Corinthi
Mœnia."¹³

⁹ Cities and Kings, London 1831, 4to. Pl. iv., fig. 15, p. 59.—
See also Mionnet, Supp. vol. iv, page 82, No. 552, where this identical coin is described.

¹⁰ See Mionnet, Vol. i., p. 10, Nos. 60, 65, and 67; and Vol. ii., p. 169, Nos. 151 and 152.

¹¹ Metam. lib. v. 407.

¹² Metam. lib. vi. 420.

¹³ Horat. Carm., lib. i., Od. vii.

From the several variations in the composition of these statues by different artists, as found on other coins of this city,¹⁴ we shall probably not err in concluding that the composition was very popular, and a favorite study among the artists of Corinth, long anterior to the Roman poets.

No. 3. The next coin, also of Corinth, is well known, and has been engraved.¹⁵

It may be described as follows;—

Obv.—Pegasus galloping to the left; his wings curled in archaic style; under him Q, as usual.

Rev.—TPIH, or TPhi, or THPI. Head of Medusa with tongue protruded, seen full face within a sunk square, the four letters being placed in the angles; R size 1½.

Mionnet, in first publishing this little coin,¹⁶ read IPIH, and attributed it to Priene in Ionia, but corrected the error in his supplement¹⁷ by means of the coin just mentioned, published by Cadalvene, who restored the coin to Corinth; but who, after mistaking the type of Medusa for a *scenic mask*, seems of opinion that the coin was struck by some town of Corinthian origin in Macedonia, because it is often found there.

Millingen, in 1837, published a coin,¹⁸ which, if he had been able to fix its geographical position, would have given us the town (in all probability beginning with TPIH) which was in alliance with Corinth at the early period when our coin was struck.

But the object of alluding, on the present occasion, to our well known little silver Corinthian coin, No. 3, is, not to settle the knotty point of the name of the town, still un-

¹⁴ Hunter, Tab. 20, fig. 23, and others.

¹⁵ Cadalvene, *Recueil de Médailles Grécques*, etc., 4to, Paris, 1828, p. 175, pl. 2, No. 25.

¹⁶ Vol. iii., p. 187, No. 889.

¹⁷ Vol. iv., p. 34, No. 187.

¹⁸ *Sylloge*, p. 40, Tab. 2, fig. 17.

known, beginning with TPIH, but to introduce to notice a coin,—No. 4, which is new, and *exactly similar, in metal, type, size, and age*, to No. 3, with the exception that on No. 4, the Pegasus on the obverse is going to the right, and under it is found a *lamda*, instead of a *koph*, or *koppa*. Our No. 4, was therefore struck at Leucas, in Acarnania, an ancient colony of Corinth, which was in alliance with TPIH at the same period as the mother city.

This fact may probably assist the search for the name of the unknown city; and under any circumstances, tends strongly to dispel a doubt which has been advanced as to the possibility of TPIH being the initial letters of a magistrate's name.

The importance of having thus fixed firmly one element of doubt in a research of some difficulty, will be readily admitted, and the interest of our new coin established. We now pass on to

No. 5, which is also a new coin, and may be thus described;—

Obv.—Naked Jupiter, standing, seen nearly in front, having in his extended right hand, a little victory holding a wreath towards him, and in his left a long sceptre.

Rev.—ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΚΟΡΤΥΝΙΩΝ (*Sic*). Female seated to the left; patera in extended right hand, and long sceptre in her left. Underneath is a monogram, which seems to be composed of the letters ATP, or APT, or even APAT, for Aratus himself. Æ, size 4½. Pl. No. 3.

The part which Aratus took in the Achæan League is well known, and it is to the Achæan League that this coin belongs.

The chief numismatic interest, however, which attaches to this unique specimen, is, that it not only adds a new town (Gortys in Arcadia) to the twenty-seven towns, already known, of the Achæan League, but, at the same time, adds

a new town to numismatic geography,¹⁹ for no other coin of Gortys in Arcadia is known.

No. 6, is also a new coin, and may be described as follows;—

Obv.—Bœotian shield.

Rev.—OPX across the field. Æ, size 5. Pl. No. 4.

The British Museum already possesses four coins of this class, of exactly the same type, size, metal, and fabric, inscribed respectively API (Arisba),²⁰ ΠΛΑ (Plateæ), TAN (Tanagra), ΘΕΣ (Thespiæ). I once saw another, ΛΕΒ (Lebadeia),²¹ and now we have to add OPX (Orchomenus).²²

These coins being all of Bœotian cities, seem to show the existence of a Bœotian League or Confederation, of which future researches will probably point out the period, and which the fabric of the coins will materially assist, as they have every appearance of having been all coined almost in the same year.

I regret that I have not health and time to work out all the questions to which these six curious and interesting coins naturally lead; and remain,

My dear Vaux,

Ever truly yours,

THOMAS BURGON.

*Medal Room,
British Museum,
22nd November, 1855.*

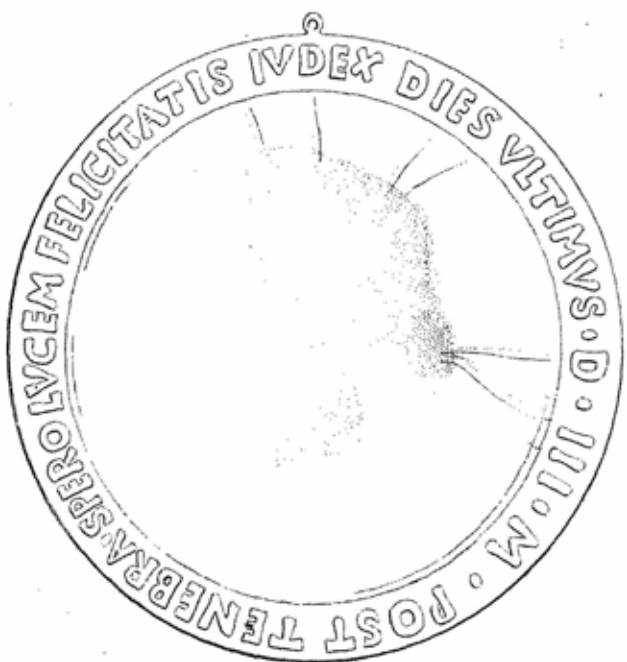
¹⁹ The site of the city of Gortys, in Arcadia, was discovered by Colonel Wm. Martin Leake; see *Travels in the Morea*, Vol. ii., p. 24—27, London, 8vo, 1830.

²⁰ See *Ortelius*, "Thesaurus Geographicus," in *voce*. The specimen in the Museum, of this antique coin, is from the Devonshire collection; and although it appears to have been a little *tooled*, I do not believe it to have been in any degree *falsified*. The obscurity of the town would alone prevent such a suspicion.

²¹ See *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. i., p. 248.

²² It is true, that a coin similar to ours is described by Mionnet, Vol. ii., p. 106, No. 79, but it does not exist in the French Cabinet, although Mionnet probably saw it.





† actual size.

XIV.

MEMOIR ON THE LEMLEIN MEDAL.

[Read before the Numismatic Society at the Annual Meeting, June 25, 1857.]

BY DR. L. LÖWE, F.R.A.S., M.S.A.P., ETC., ETC.

SIR,—I have much pleasure in laying before the Numismatic Society the result of my researches respecting a very remarkable medal, which has attracted the attention of several learned and distinguished authors.

It was under the consideration of Menestrier, De Boissi, Löwisohn, Carmoly, Bekker, Sylvester de Sacy, Gerson Levi, and Zunz. Some of these authors wrote memoirs on the subject, which were submitted to learned societies; yet, notwithstanding the deep research displayed in their works, they have still left not less than twenty-three letters unexplained, have given no reason for the Latin and Greek parts of the inscription, have made no attempts to discover the date on the reverse of the medal; and, what is worse, they differ greatly with regard to the translation of several very important words. Being so fortunate as to have this medal in my cabinet, I felt induced to examine the legend thereon; and it will now depend on you to say how far I may have succeeded in my humble researches.

Menestrier the Jesuit, in his history of Lyons, published in the year 1696, was the first who gave a description of this medal. "Forty years ago," he says, "Monsieur de Ville, the Canon and Provost of the Église Collegiate de Saint Just, Vicar General and Substitute of the Cardinal

Alphonse Louis de Plessis de Richelieu, having caused some excavations to be made in his house, known by the name of *Bréda*, situate a little below the hill of Fourvière, the work-people found a bronze medal, about six inches in diameter, having on one side the head of an emperor with a laurel crown, attached to the head by a kind of band or embroidered scarf with fringes, which takes up the hair and ties them with the ends of the crown-wreath."

There are in the circle some Hebrew words, which seem to come out of the emperor's mouth. He is represented as a man in middle age, without beard; his ears are free, and a little under his eye, opposite to his nose, he has a wart. Around the neck he has a gorget or breastplate, and there are four Hebrew words disposed in a square towards the four angles of the head:—One is immediately near the forehead; the other behind the knot which ties the two ends of the diadem or crown together; the third is between the chin and the neck; and the fourth is under the tuft of hair tied up behind his head.

Below, where the shoulders ought to project, there is the Latin word "*umilitas*," and under it the Greek word ΤΑΩΝ, instead of "*humilitas*" and ταπεινότης.

The reverse of this medal has merely a groove all around without figure, bearing only the legend, "*Post tenebras spero lucem felicitatis judex dies ultimus. D. III. M.*"

Menestrier is of opinion that the figure on this medal represents the king, Louis le Debonnaire. "Thegan, rural bishop of the Church of Treves," he says, "describes him to have been of middling height, having large and lively eyes, a pleasing countenance, a long and well-formed nose, lips of middling size, a full chest, large shoulders, and his arms so strong that there was none his equal in his way of stringing a bow or handling a lance. He had a sweet and

benign countenance, always more inclined to mildness than to anger, which made him well deserve the title of Debonnaire."

In the figure on this medal, Menestrier finds all the peculiarities above described; and from this coincidence he infers, that the medal in question was identically the same which the Jews of Lyons had placed in the cavity of the foundation-stone of their new synagogue, for the building of which, they received permission from Louis le Debonnaire.

He considers his assertion strikingly confirmed by the groove on the reverse of the medal and the legend thereon; it was intended, said he, to be enchased in the foundation-stone; and the legend thereon appears to state that, "after its having been buried in the darkness, it hopes again to see light, were it even on the last day of the world, which will be the judge of felicity."

In the opinion of Menestrier, the letters D. III. M. indicate that the foundation-stone was laid on the third of May.

The numerous points above the letters in the inscription he considers to be the letters "T", signifying the ineffable name of the Tetragrammaton. "This," he says, "is often to be met with in the Arabic, Persian, Greek, and Spanish translations of the Bible;" and the following is his version of the Hebrew words in the legend:—"God, whose name be praised, conducts, by His eternal and immutable will, all that arrives by His decrees. I have seen the privation and the form. I shall praise Thee, even for that which may arrive in this time, which will come to a termination; and I shall understand the secrets and the decrees of Providence. My God, in whom I place all my glory, preserve Jerusalem, and I shall be filled with joy. O Lord! I shall wait for happiness, which I hope to receive from Thee, my omnipotent God, who forgivest sins."

The Jews, he further observes, have probably immigrated from Africa with the Vandals and the Saracens, who penetrated into Spain, Languedoc, Provence, and even France. The names of Benjamin and Ben Cush, "the son of the right hand," and "the son of Ethiopia," may therefore refer to the fortresses of the Jews. One party having come from Palestine from the tribe of Benjamin, and the other from Ethiopia, and both united afterwards to form one congregation, similar to that which the Lutherans and the Calvinists did, when they united into one synod of Charenton, although they originally descended from different sects.

Menestrier considers his conjectures fully established, on comparing the golden coins struck by Louis le Debonnaire with the figure on the medal in question; and believes the Latin and Greek words, under the head of the figure, to express the submission of the Jews, who, out of respect to that prince, made use of languages in which the latter was considered to be well versed.

I shall make no remark on any of Menestrier's conjectures, for reasons which will afterwards be given. But I will proceed to state the opinions of those who, to a certain extent, followed or adopted his views.

De Boissi, in his "*Dissertations critiques pour servir à l'histoire des Juifs*," printed in the year 1785, was the second who gave an account of this medal. His translation of the legend is more literal than that of Menestrier. He does not ascribe the origin of the medal to a feeling of gratitude, as Menestrier thought, on the part of the Jews towards the emperor, but considers it as a work containing merely, in the legend, a description of the great misery and unspeakable sufferings which the Jews at that time had to endure, and intended to call forth the sympathy and deep compassion of the reigning monarch.

In the year 1820, S. Löwisohn, in his "Vorlesungen," published at Vienna, reported on this medal, and gave the legend thereof in Hebrew characters. "Under Louis le Debonnaire," he says, "the condition of the Jews in France became greatly improved, owing to the great favour bestowed on them by the Empress Judith, whose words are supposed to have had more influence on the affairs of the empire than those of the monarch himself. The Jews often received at court numerous marks of royal favour, and many Jewesses stood in high estimation with the princesses and other distinguished ladies."

Löwisohn, here following entirely the views of Menestrier, I shall not repeat his words. With regard to the Hebrew legend, his opinion is, that the synagogue expresses therein the sentiments of the nation. "The synagogue," he says, "complains of her present mournful state, and prays for a glorious future." His reading of the legend is as follows:—

בגזירת הנוהג יתברך מרצונו הנצחי בתום כל משפט
העדר הצורה ראיתי אורך לזמן ישיגהו הקץ ואתבונן
בהשגחת אלי רוממי הוכר לשומם ואעלה פדותך אוהיל
יתברך צורי רב וסלח

The translation of it, he renders thus:—"By the decree of the Ruler of the universe, praised be he: by His eternal will, by His just visitation (we lay the foundation of this synagogue). I see the deformity (the state of the nation devoid of all splendour), but, notwithstanding this, I shall still have occasion to thank Thee when once my sufferings come to an end. I shall then admire thy providence. My God! my Redeemer! O remember the orphan (nation), and I will rejoice. I am longing after Thy redemption. Be Thou praised, my Creator, Almighty and All-forgiving."¹

¹ For the above abstract of Löwisohn's "Vorlesung," I am

In the Hebrew, Löwisohn reads, אֹרֶךְ "I will praise thee," instead of אֹרֶךְ "thy light"; רוֹמִי "the Being that raises me on high," instead of רוֹמִי "Roman"; הִזְכֵּר "remember," instead of הִשְׁאִיר "He caused to remain"; לְשׁוֹמֵם which he translates, "of the orphan people," instead of רְשׁוֹמֵם "their traces." The three letters י"י, which form an abbreviation of the ineffable name of God, he reads י"צ, and considers them as an abbreviation of the two words יְתַבַּרְךָ צוּר, which he translates, "Mayest Thou be praised, my Creator!"

The letters on both sides of the figure, he reads בְּנִימִין בֶּן כּוֹשׁ "Benjamin the son of Kush," which, he says, was probably the name of the warden of the Jewish congregation at Lyons.

In the year 1834, Dr. Eliacin Carmoly published a report on that medal, which he made to the Académie Royale des sciences et belles lettres de Bruxelles. His report is entitled, "Mémoire sur une médaille en l'honneur de Louis-le-Débonnaire," and I am under obligation to Mr. Akerman for having called my attention to it.

Dr. Carmoly, after stating what Menestrier and De Boissi have said, observes:—"As my opinion on several points does not agree with those of Menestrier and De Boissi, I shall here give a new explanation, which, if I do not mistake, carries with it a high degree of probability. But, before proceeding to give his peculiar ideas on the subject, he gives the following account of the Jewish colony at Lyons.

This colony, he says, owes its origin to Herod the tetrarch, son of Herod the Great, whom the Emperor Caligula exiled to this place (v. Josephus, Jewish Antiquities,

indebted to my learned friend, Mr. M. E. Stern, the editor of the כּוֹכְבֵי יִצְחָק.

Book xviii. ch. 9). It increased rapidly in number, in consequence of the Jews having been driven out of their country after the destruction of Jerusalem, and found in Lyons a most advantageous retreat. This large city being so favorably situated respecting the commerce with the Gauls, the Israelites who were compelled to procure for themselves some means of subsistence, devoted themselves with great activity to commerce, and the prosperity which they thereby procured to the city, gained for them the consideration of the people. Under the reign of Charlemagne, they appear to have been considered important citizens of the town, for they inhabited one of the finest quarters, which, at that time, was enclosed by the Saône and the hill of Fourvière. A portion of that quarter retains to this day the name of "Juiverie." On their account, the market, which was usually kept on Saturday, was transferred to Sunday. They had even an imperial overseer, who bore the name of "Maître des Juifs," whose duties were to take care that their privileges should not be infringed.

This state of their prosperity, however, attracted the jealousy of some of their neighbours, and the Bishop Agobard undertook to prosecute them. The Jews complained of his proceedings to the emperor, who immediately caused three commissioners to proceed to Lyons to investigate the case. The latter, having found the complaints of the bishop without foundation, declared the innocence of the Jews, and secured to them the privileges of which the bishop wanted to deprive them. Upon this, the prelate felt much aggravated, and expressed his doubts as to the truth of the commissioners' statement, and did not even hesitate to cast a doubt upon the genuineness of the imperial seal affixed to their credentials. Again he tried to bring a number of accusations against the Jews, and even induced two other

bishops to sign his petition to the emperor; but Edrard, the imperial commissioner, examined the nature of his accusations; and again they were declared to be altogether without foundation.

Bishop Agobard, seeing that all his efforts to injure the Jews were fruitless, determined to repair to the imperial court. He obtained an audience with the emperor, but it was an audience *de congé*. His words had no influence upon the emperor's mind, the Jews remained in favour, and retained all their privileges.

Dr. Carmoly, after having given the preceding account, goes on to say:—"So much justice manifested by an emperor against a bishop, from whom, under the sway of another monarch, a single order would have been sufficient to cause all the Jews to be banished from his diocese, excited in the hearts of the Jews in Lyons sentiments of the deepest gratitude. The chief of their community, being anxious to let the emperor know the high respect and the sincere gratitude which the Israelite community entertain towards him, caused this medal with the effigy of the prince thereon to be struck. This was the highest honour they could confer upon him; but, as their religion distinctly enjoins them not to make any image whatever, they felt, that, by such an act, they would transgress the law; for this reason they implored the forgiveness of God, which is expressed in the Hebrew inscription, invoking the Deity, at the same time, to preserve the life of the emperor."

The translation of the Hebrew legend he renders thus:—"By the decree of Him who governs (blessed may He be!) by His eternal will, and sincerity of all justice, I have seen this perishable figure. But, O! may it last as long as this effigy. I shall reflect on Thy providence, O my God! Rome bequeathed him a part of her renown; and this it is

which makes me to be full of joy. I am waiting for thy deliverance from day to day. The Omnipotent is great, and pardoneth."

The four words on the two sides of the head Dr. Carmoly, like his predecessors, reads, "Benjamin, the son of Cush," a name which, he says, no doubt belonged to the head of the community at Lyons; and the initials, **י ג ה י ע מ ב ת**, **ת ע ש א ת ל ה**, are probably the names of the members thereof.

The memoir of Dr. Carmoly has been well received by the Académie Royale des Sciences et Belles Lettres de Bruxelles, by Professor Bekker and the late Sylvestre de Sacy.

On the 28th of August, 1836, Monsieur Gerson Levi made a report on Dr. Carmoly's Memoire to the Académie des sciences at Metz.

The letters **י י** which Dr. Carmoly reads as an abbreviation of the Tetragrammaton, he considers to be an abbreviation of the words **יום ויום**, signifying "daily." The letters above the head of the figure, he reads **י ש י** "Jesse." The word **צוּרָה** "figure," he reads **צוּרָה** "persecution." The words **רוּמִי הַשְׂאִיר** which Dr. Carmoly translates, "Rome bequeathed," he translates "he has left traces of my elevation," and interprets the whole legend as follows:—"By the decree of him who directs, blessed be He, I have seen the end of the persecution. I contemplate the providence of my God, and rejoice, O Omnipotent!"

Mr. Gerson remarks, that there has not yet been found any medal with the effigy of the French kings before the time of Charles the Seventh. There are *coins* in existence, but no *medals*, of the first two dynasties. "It is well known," he says, "that all medals struck previously to the reign of Charlemagne were spurious, and most of them the invention of Jacques Debuet, and Duval, his associate.

He concludes his report with the following observation. "The beautiful medal now before us, would, if we adopt the opinion of Menestrier, De Boissi, and Carmoly, accuse those numismatists, whose whole life had perhaps been devoted to elaborate researches, of inaccuracies. Let us rather come to the conclusion that the medal in question does not belong to the ninth century. But," continues he, "to which epoch then does it belong?—Well, gentlemen," said he, "if you can tell me what 800 minus 1000, D.III.M. indicates, this appearing to be the date of the medal, I shall be able to answer the last question. Meanwhile," continues he, "there is nothing determined yet; neither the time, nor the occasion which called it forth; and this medal will probably remain classed among the "uncertain," until better numismatists shall find out its original destination.

M. Gerson Levi, then, was the first who declared against Menestrier, De Boissi and Carmoly, that the medal in question does not belong to Louis le Debonnaire. The interpretation of the legend, however, and particularly the abbreviations thereof, made no progress. At last, in the year 1840, Dr. Zunz, in Dr. Jost's *Annalen*, wrote an elaborate report. He noticed the dots on the different words in the legend, and pointed out the Acrosticon **בנימין בן כבוד מורי הרב החכם רבי אליהו באר הרופא יחיה שנים רבות ומבנות** "Benjamin, the son of my respected preceptor, the learned Doctor Rabbi Eliahu Beér, the physician, may he live many happy years." The first word is clear enough, and requires no explanation; the second, **בכמה** "הר" are the initials of words which were introduced in the fourteenth century, and he quotes instances from Rome, in the year 1496; and the last word, **ישרו**, is an abbreviation of words, commonly used in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when speaking or writing of living persons. It results

from this, he says, that the legend must have been composed in the Papal States, in the fifteenth century. The most complete proof, Dr. Zunz continues, is given by the names of Eliahu Beér Harophé, which, as has been shown elsewhere,² was the name of an individual who, 400 years ago was still living in Rome, Eliahu Beér Harophé, being identical with Elia Beer (Fonte) ben Shabtái. He ordered the canon of Avicenna to be copied for him, and in a postscript to that work, he is distinctly called "the physician." Reference is also made to his son, who is represented as belonging to a learned profession. The time, country, family, and persons to whom the medal in question belongs, is, says Dr. Zunz, thus clearly proved. It comes from Benjamin, the son of Elia Beér, and was made in Rome at a time when his father, Eliahu the physician, was still alive, about the year 1430. This accounts, he observes, for the word רומי in the legend, as well as for the subject which he selected, viz., an imperial medal. The letter above the head of the figure, the Doctor takes for the letter ש, and considers it to be an abbreviation of the word שמי "my name;" for, says he, immediately below there is the name בנימין to be seen. The figure, continues the Doctor, has as little relation to the legend, as the writing has to the manufacturer's mark on the paper. But how can it be accounted for that such a beautifully impressed figure happens to be surrounded by so carelessly an executed inscription, intermixed with words of different legends? The rather forced and doubtful expressions of the legend, might be justified by the acrosticon which the author was anxious to form. The great pains which have been taken in the execution of the

² Dr. Zunz's *Analekten*, No. 5. Joab, in Dr. Geiger's *Zeitschrift*, Vol. iii. p. 53.

medal, show that the author must have had some great object in view, and that object, Dr. Zunz says, can only be made known unto us by the proper understanding of the words contained in the legend. He then gives his opinion to the following effect:—"Astrology was much in vogue during the middle ages. By metallic figures of large or small size, the influence upon the earth of heavenly bodies was supposed to be easily obtained. These metallic figures, together with the planets which they were supposed to represent, were called צִוְרוֹת. In the fourteenth century, in particular, there were many who pursued the study of that science with great zeal; in the fifteenth century, the sufferings and persecutions which Israel had to endure, together with the approaching time fixed for the arrival of the Messiah; was by several individuals supposed to have been ascertained from the position of the constellations. Jupiter was represented as the harbinger of good tidings; Mars the protecting power of Rome; and Saturn the protecting power of the Jews. It was to such a time," Dr. Zunz says, "that the legend of the medal refers, and all expressions therein, respecting occurrences, sentence, image and redemption, allude to ideas, which, about that period, were particularly fostered.

Possibly, he adds, that Benjamin ben Elia may have, according to his own calculations, fixed upon some time which he thought likely to put a stop to the persecutions the Jews had then to endure; but, to remove the suspicion from the people's mind that he had derived his information from astrology, and moreover, to declare that he offered all praise, and ascribed all glory to the Eternal God, and not to the influence of the stars, he, the author of the legend, said:—"God is the omnipotent and all-ruling being"; whatever Israel has to suffer is a visitation of God alone. Yet the

idea of comfort and consolation which, he said, we derive from our trusting in God alone, he blended with an image of superstition, and recorded his hope in the final victory of Israel round a figure which he considered an emblem of Rome's greatness and power. This figure, he says, must have been to the author of the legend himself, though a Roman, yet a symbol of tyrannical power; and the time of the expected redemption may possibly have been the year 1430—5190; this being the numerical value of the word הק"ן.

He transcribes the legend as follows:—

בגזירת נוהג ית' מרצון נצחי בתם כל משפט העדר הצורה
ראיתי אורך לזמן ישיגהו הקץ ואתבונן בהשגחת אלי רומי
השאר רשומם ואעלו פדותך אוהיל יוי שדי רב וסלה
וי ג"ח ו"ע מ"י ב"ת ת"ע ש"א ת"ל ח"ן

And renders it thus:—"By the decree of the divine Disposer, praised be He; by the mercy of the Eternal; whilst all judgment ceases and the image perishes, I behold thy light at the time when redemption will take place, and reflect on the providence of my God. O! Romans, guard from their trace! Thus I shall rejoice, waiting for thy deliverance O God! almighty Ordainer and Forgiver."

With regard to the eighteen letters with which the legend appears to conclude, he says:—"If they do not represent certain numerals or parts of an amulet, they might perhaps represent sentences from the daily prayers. In the first eight letters, he observes, we may perhaps find the initials of

ומגן ישענו גומל הסדים ופורה עניים מצמיה ישועה

The translation of which is:—"And the shield of our salvation, bestowing gracious favours and redeeming the humble. He who causes salvation to spring forth."

The words **בן כוש**, Dr. Z. continues, might have been introduced in imitation of Ps. vii., v. 1, where the name of Benjamin is preceded by the word **כוש**. Thus **על דברי כוש בן ימיני**. All the other words on this medal were perhaps unknown to the author of the Hebrew legend. He does not agree with Menestrier respecting the signification of D.III.M., but he makes no suggestion of any other. The medal, he says, was brought to Lyons with many thousand other objects of antiquity.

Having briefly stated all that has been said on this very remarkable medal, I will now venture to decypher that which all the above-named learned and distinguished authors have yet left for others to do.

But before I proceed with the solution of the sealed sentences contained in the eighteen letters, I will first make a few remarks respecting some *words* in the legend which are complete.

To ascertain the object the author of this or any other medal had in view, the first step the numismatist takes is a scrupulously attentive reading of the legend; but in attempting to do so with the legend on the medal before us, we meet with words of a rather dubious meaning. We must therefore seek for some other means to arrive at proper conclusions. Happily there are some little dots over the first letters in each word of the legend, which to the experienced eye, must, at once, appear of importance.

Menestrier, as stated before, has taken them for the letters **י** indicating the ineffable name of the Tetragrammaton, but Dr. Zunz found in them the signs for making up the name of the author of the legend, and I think there can be no doubt about the correctness of this supposition. But I differ from him in the interpretation he gives to the words **אלי רומי השאיר רשומם** and **בתם כל משפט העדר הצורה**

The first sentence he translates:—"Whilst all judgment ceases and the image perishes;" and the second by "my God, O Romans! guard from their trace!" It appears to me less strained if we were to translate the first sentence, **העדר הצורה**, **בתם כל משפט העדר הצורה**, by, "When all justice ceased, and consideration for men deserving respect became disregarded." The word **צורה** being a term used to express "men of regard." Thus we find in the Talmud, Treatise **אמר ליה לבריה**, **משקין בית השלחין**, ch. **מועד קטן**, p. 9, **בני אדם הללו אנשים של צורה הם זיל גביכון דליברכוך** "R. Shimeon ben Yokhái said unto his son, 'These people are **אנשים של צורה** men of consideration (i.e., men deserving respect, learned men; as **רש"י** explains the words **של צורה** by **כלומר חכמים**), go unto them,' he said 'that they may favour you with a blessing.'"

Or, if we were to take the word **צורה** as a kabbalistic term signifying the divine attributes of justice and mercy **חסד**, **רין**, &c., by which the omnipotent Creator manifested himself to his creatures, in the same sense as the words **ותמונת העדר הצורה** must be taken. The translation of **העדר הצורה** would be, "And all good qualities which man ought to adopt from his Creator ceased."

From what will be said afterwards, it will be seen, that it is very possible the author may have intended to convey such meaning to the word, but as the English word "consideration" combines both, I would give preference to the first explanation.

And with regard to the second sentence, **אלי רומי השאיר** **רשומם** I have no doubt that it must be rendered by, "Elia, the Roman, however, caused the spiritual traces thereof (viz., traces of justice and consideration) yet to remain." That is, by the spirit which pervades all his sacred composition, and by the exhortations which he made to his brethren

in his propitiatory prayers, he has shown that however justice and consideration may have vanished from earth, yet they remain with God. It was the Divine intention in creating the world, that justice and consideration should rule mankind, therefore they must again re-appear; and for this reason, the author rejoices, and fully hopes in a speedy redemption.

The expressions **השאיך רשומם** and **מרצון נצחי** make it obvious that the author intended to use them in their kabbalistic sense. I only need to quote the tabular inscriptions from the **עמק המלך**, which may be seen, by those who have not the opportunity to refer to the original work, in Rosenroth's *Kabbala Denudata*, to show the correctness of my view.

The author of that work, in attempting to represent to the human mind the free will, emanation and concentration of the divine power, as manifested in the first act of the creation, describes his system, the different phases of the creation, in a square containing three circles or spheres, one within the other. Round the outer sphere, the square is painted black, to represent darkness; for, God, the Lord of will, (**בעל הרצון**) he says, is concealed from the comprehension of all living beings, and therefore his divine essence is unto them like darkness. **בעל הרצון שהוא חשך המוחלט נעלם מעין כל הי** This is the inscription round the first sphere. The second sphere in the tablet represents "light," viz.,—the eternal "light," which He, the Lord of will, caused to emanate by the manifestation of His spiritual design of the creation (**רשם**), and bears the following inscription, **אור האין סוף שהוציא בעל הרצון על ידי הרשם**. The third sphere represents the phase of creation, which was intended to become comprehensible to the human mind, and is for this reason called **עולם המלבוש מהרושם**, "The world

under the garment of the first emanation." Thus the expression **השאייר רשומם** in connection with the attribute of God as the **בעל הרצון**, leaves no doubt of the author's intention, that they should be understood in a kabbalistical point of view.

The root **שאר** connected with **רשם** we find in the language of the kabbalistic work, the **זוהר** of Rabbi Shimeon ben Yokhái, as expressed in the following sentence **ולא אשתאר ביה בהדיה גופיה בר חד רשימו דקוסמו דהויותא דליבא**³ The following explanation of the word **רשם** as given by the author of the kabbalistic work **שפע מל** p. 33, will give us the exact meaning of the word in the legend before us:—

Like the sculptor who first slightly traces his design on the material previous to the beginning of the work **רשם**, then makes the first engraving **דקק**, which is followed by deeper incisions **דחב**, and finally completes his work by giving all the necessary perfections to each of the different forms **עשה**, so, the author says, might we be permitted to imagine the different phases of the first act of the Creator.

The Divine Being first called into existence the most high, the most spiritual world, the **עולם האצילות** (the world of free willed emanation), which, although the most incomprehensible to the human mind, was yet the prototype of all other created worlds; hence the first act of the creation, is, by the author of the **ספר יצירה**, expressed by the word **רשם** He slightly traced, as it were, the spiritual design of the worlds he intended to create.

Next came another world, which although like the first, invisible, was yet, to a certain degree, of a nature to be a little nearer to our comprehension; this was the **עולם**

³ "And there is nothing left within the body, except one trace of the spirit of life, which is in the heart" **זוהר**, פרשת לך לך

הבריאה (the world of creation), and, for this reason, forms the second phase, designated by the word חקק. He made, as it were, the first engraving of His design.

This was followed by the third phase, representing the world as the עולם היצירה (the world of formation), which, being a degree more comprehensible to our mind than the previous world, the act of this divine creation is expressed by the word חצב. He made deep incisions.

And lastly, the world of action עולם העשיה was produced, in which everything was intended for the comprehension of men; and this final act of the first creation is termed עשה.

The word רשומם then, signifies, their spiritual traces, viz., the spiritual design which God manifested of them (of justice and consideration, or the divine attributes of righteousness, mercy, compassion, which God intended man in this world should endeavour to imitate as much as lies in his power) in the first phase of His act of creation.

The fifteenth century, a period to which, as will be shown hereafter, the medal belongs, was a time when Israel had to endure the greatest oppression, and the most unheard-of persecutions; justice ceased to be shown towards them, and men of the greatest desert were treated in the most cruel manner; so that all hope of deliverance was nearly given up by them. The author of the legend, therefore, refers his brethren to illustrations of divine providence, as taught by Eli Romi, which cannot but impress on their minds, that justice and consideration had yet left traces on earth, and that God surely would deliver them from the hands of their oppressors.

Eli Romi, I consider to be identical with Elia, the son of Shemáya אלי בר שמעי the author of many supplicatory prayers סליחות adopted in the Roman as well as in the German ritual of the Jews.

He was, no doubt, a man of great learning and piety, who

in his time, endeavoured to re-kindle the flame of hope in the bosom of his brethren, by directing their thoughts to the omnipotent and everlasting Disposer of events. In his sacred hymns and propitiatory prayers, he elucidated the ways of Providence in a manner pre-eminently calculated to raise the sunken spirit of the nation, and to re-animate them with the hope of a speedy deliverance; concluding his exhortations by the assurance of God's forgiveness. The Omnipotent, he often says, takes no delight in the punishment of the transgressor, but in seeing him leave the path of wickedness, and thus remain alive, both physically and spiritually. The author of the legend, therefore, could not have selected a more zealous individual in the cause of God than Eli, nor could he have addressed more fervent exhortations than those coming from his pen, and which were familiar in the mouths of the devout children of Israel.

The word **בהשגחת** which precedes the sentence **אלי רומי השאיר רשומי** I translate with Providence, and render **בהשגחת אלי רומי** by Providence of Eli Romi (viz., by the providence as taught or illustrated by the Eli Romi). The fact of Eli Romi's instruction being ascribed as a subject belonging to himself, cannot be a cause of surprise, for we find distinctly a similar case in the Book of Deuteronomy ch. 37, where the righteousness and the judgments of God are ascribed to Moses, on account of his having instructed Israel in those divine attributes. Thus:—

צדקת ה' עשה ומשפטיו עם ישראל

As these two words **אלי רומי** form the most difficult part in the legend, I may perhaps be permitted to adduce some proof in support of my assertion.

Eli Romi, I said to be identical with Elia the son of Shemáyá, the author of the **סליחות**. Having no information respecting his birth-place, we may not unreasonably

suppose him to be of Roman origin, and for this reason called in the legend אלי רומי. And, I maintain, that this may be unquestionably proved by comparing almost all the propitiatory prayers of his composition with the legend in question.

After introducing his subject by quoting an expression from Daniel iv. 14, which refers to what has been communicated in a dream to Nebuchadnezzar, to the intent that the living may know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever He will "בגוירת" he complains of justice and consideration having disappeared בַּתָּם בִּלְמִשְׁפַּט הָעֶדֶר הַצּוֹרֶה. This corresponds with what Eli bar Shemáyá says in his propitiatory prayer which begins with the words אַתָּה חֲלָקִי וְצוֹר לִבִּי "I cry because of violence which is committed, but no one cometh to render help. Why doest thou permit, O Lord! the wicked to surround the righteous! Thou, whose helping hand cannot be restrained. An avaricious and low fellow sits like a king among his associates, removing the noble-minded from before his presence like a useless shard."⁴

Eli Romi states that he anxiously looked out for the appointed time, in which the redemption would take place רֵאִיתִי אֹרֶךְ לְזֶמֶן יִשְׁגְּחוּ הַקֵּין Eli bar Shemáyá says "The end is concealed, no one knoweth it."⁵ The duration of the

⁴ חֲסִים אֲזַעֵק וְאֵין מוֹשִׁיעַ: לָמָּה צָרִיק מִבְּתִיר מוֹשִׁיעַ וְלֹא קָצָרָה יָדָךְ
(סליחה צ"ד) מוֹשִׁיעַ

בִּילִי וְנָבֵל בְּמִלְכָּךְ בְּמִסְבּוֹ בְּדִיב וְשׁוֹעַ נִטְרָד בְּחִבּוֹ בְּכָלִי אֵין חֲפִין בּוֹ: צָרִיק
(סליחה צ"ד) קָטַן לִפְנֵי רִיבָע

מִמִּישָׁל רַב לְסָרֵב לָמָּה הִחַלֵּט נָבֵל בְּנָרִיב וְבִילִי בְּשׁוֹעַ שָׁלֵט
(סליחה ק"א) (סליחה צ"ד) זְמַן קָצִי סָתוּם מִלְדֵּעַ

מִמִּישָׁרִי לֵב מִשְׁנֶה קָל גְּבוֹן וְרָבִן
(סליחה ל"ג) נִעְלָם מִשְׁנֶה הָעֶדֶן וְנִסְתָּם בְּיָשׁוּעַ הַתְּרָבִן

time of suffering remaineth a secret even to the most reflecting sages and the most learned in the law; no one knoweth the end of the destruction."

Eli Romi yet puts his trust in God, and hopes that the day will nevertheless come when Israel will again rejoice, for God is merciful and forgiving **פרותך אוהיל יי שרי רב** Eli bar Shemáyá says, "My hope, however, is that He is forgiving and exculpating, it is for this reason that I continue to place my trust in my Creator, even whilst exposed to the danger of being deprived of my life."⁶

If we translate, with Dr. Zunz, the word **רומי** Romans, and take the word **השאר** in the imperative mood, the more simple translation of **רשומם השאר** would be: "Let their traces remain," instead of, "Guard us from their traces." I will, however, not dilate longer on the complete words in the legend, but proceed to the initials or abbreviations.

In pointing out several letters which are differently represented by the before-mentioned decypherers, I may here observe, that allowance must be made for those who made their translations from the print, either in Menestrier's History of Lyons, or from that in the Memoir of Dr. Carmoly; both prints I do not consider exact copies from the original, as I shall presently have the honour of showing.⁷

The method I adopted to find the words for these abbreviations was simply, in the first place, to search for such

6 **תקנתי הוא סולח ומוחל הן יקטלני לו אהל**
שמור מלט עבדיך ידידך הצלח חיש זמן קרב פדותם ותשלח. מחל לנו
אבינו הנאמינו מלח פי אפה ה' טוב וסלח
 (סליחה ק"א) (סליחה צ"ד)

⁷ Mr. Williams kindly favoured me with a print of the medal, for which I beg to offer him my best thanks.

words as would correspond with the nature of the legend in general; and, secondly, to find some sentence to indicate the name of the maker of the medal; for, I took it for granted, that the author of the inscription had nothing to do with the making of the figure, or the Latin and Greek inscriptions.

Having previously established that the legend referred to the redemption of Israel, as prayed for by **אֱלֹהֵי בְרַשְׁמַעִי**, I searched for words in connection with that subject, and came to the following result:

Let us take the first eight letters which follow the word **וּמְלָא**, and for our better comprehension, place under each of them a number, thus:—**רִי גִיחַ רַע עִי**.

8.7.6.5.4.3.2.1

Dr. Carmoly takes them as initials of names belonging to some of the former members of the Hebrew community at Lyons. Dr. Zunz is of opinion, that they might be abbreviations of words contained in the daily prayers. He takes six letters of the first line, together with the two letters **מִ** of the vertical line under the **ג**, and reads them, as stated before:—

וּמִגֵּן יִשְׁעֵנוּ גֹמֵל חֲסִדִּים וּפֹדֶה עֲנִיִּים מִצְמִיחַ יִשׁוּעָה
 “And the shield of our salvation bestowing gracious favours and redeeming the humble, causing salvation to spring forth.”

The letters marked with the numbers 7 and 8 he takes for one letter, the **ש**; which, he says, is an abbreviation of the word **שְׁמִי** “my name,” referring to the name of **בְּנִימִין** to be seen immediately under it.

My humble opinion is, to take the No. 1, the letter **י**, as an abbreviation of the word **וְאֵנִי**; No. 2, the letter **י**, for **יְדַעְתִּי**; No. 3, the letter **ג**, for **גִּזְאֵלִי**; No. 4, the letter **ח**, for **חַי**; No. 5, the letter **ו**, for **וְאַחֲרָיו**; No. 6, the letter **ע**, **עַל**; No. 7, the letter **ע**, for **עָפַר**; and No. 8, the letter **י**,

for יָקוּם;—these words, when read in succession, form the twenty-fifth verse of the nineteenth chapter of Job:—

וְאֲנִי יֹדְעִי גֹאֲלִי חַי וְאַחֲרֹן עַל עֶפֶר יָקוּם

“I know it, my Redeemer liveth, the last mortal will confirm it,” and are remarkably connected with the words of רִאִיתִי אֹרֶךְ לִזְמַן יְשִׁיגֵהוּ הַקֵּץ and פְּדוּתָךְ אֹחִיל, alluding to the hope of a redemption.

I am, moreover, inclined to think, that the contents of four verses preceding the twenty-fifth have given the idea of perpetuating the belief in a sure and speedy redemption on metal.

“Why do ye persecute me as God, and are not satisfied with my flesh? O that my words were now written! O that they were engraved in a book! That they were graven in the rock for ever with an iron pen and lead.”

לָמָּה תִּרְדָּפֵנִי כְמוֹ-אֵל וּמִבֶּשֶׁרִי לֹא תִשָּׁבְעוּ: מִי יִתֵּן אֲפֹ
וַיִּכְתְּבוּן מִלִּי מִי יִתֵּן בַּסֶּפֶר וַיַּחֲקֹ: בְּעֵט-בְּרִזָּל וְעִפְרָת
לְעֵד בַּצֹּר יִחַצְבוּן

The individual who caused the medal to be struck, thought the case of his brethren, to a certain degree, similar to that of Job. The enemies of the Jews probably said unto them, “The troubles and persecutions which embitter your life are a well deserved chastisement for your iniquities, God has now forsaken you,” and other similar expressions. The words in the inscription remind us to answer these remonstrances in words similar to those of Job: “True, our sins are great, yet we have never denied Divine justice. His punishment we have well deserved; but nevertheless our hope is not gone; on the contrary, I know that my redeemer liveth, the last mortal will confirm it.”

The next nine letters appear, to me, to represent abbre-

viations of words which give the name of the person who made the medal. Six of these letters which are opposite to the eyes and nose of the figure (מ"י כ"ת ה"ע), I read for מעשה ידי כתיבת העניו, the translation of which is, "The work of my hand, the writing of the humble." The three remaining letters, immediately under the tied-up hair, were taken by Menestrier, Carmoly, Levy, Löwisohn and Zunz for one word, כוש, "Ethiopia"; I take them for an abbreviation of three words. Having the medal before me, I can distinctly see that the second letter is not a ך but ר, similar in form to that in the word הצורה of the legend. I also notice three dots over the three letters, which confirm me in my belief of their being abbreviations; and for these reasons I am led to consider the three letters to represent the three words כבוד רבי שבתאי "the respected R. Shabtái," possibly a relative of Eliahu Beer.

The two letters opposite to ב"ש are בן, "son," the two letters in front of the head, and the three letters behind, make the word בנימין. Taking now the nine letters together with the insertion of the words בן בנימין, we shall have the following legend: מעשה ידי כתיבת העניו בנימין בן כבוד רבי שבתאי "The work of my hand, the writing of my hand, the humble Benjamin, the son of the respected R. Shabtái."

I have taken the letters ה"ע as an abbreviation of the word העניו, and not העני, for two reasons; the first is, because the Jews in general are not in the habit of prefixing that attribute of modesty to their names; they generally use the word הצעיר "the young," or הקטן "the little." The Caraites and the present Samaritans only, who adopted this custom from the Arabs, prefix to their signature the word الفقير Elfakeer, "the poor"; and the second reason

is, because I believe יְהוֹנָתָן to have been the name of the family from which he descended.

There was, among the Jewish physicians in Italy, as recorded by Dr. Carmoly in his *Historie des Médecins Juifs*, a family of the name of עֲנִי "the humble," in Italian, "dei piatelli." The most distinguished of them were Benjamin Rofé and Abraham Rofé, who lived during the time of Pope Innocent the Third. Their descendants were all men of great distinction, having written several works of great literary value. The names of Jehuda Yaáleh, the son of Benjamin הֵאֵנָאב יְהוֹנָתָן; his two brothers, Zidkeyáh and Yekutiel; Benjamin and Zidkeyáh, the sons of Abraham the physician, are well known.

The author of the book, Sheebooley Hálékét, mentions the name of Yehuda Yaáleh the son of Benjamin הֵאֵנָאב (יְהוֹנָתָן) as having written valuable commentaries on a work called Hálákhót Alfúsee. Zidkeyáh the younger brother of Yehooda is quoted with much praise by the same author. Yekutiel's son was the author of an excellent work on morals, entitled Máalot Hámidot. Benjamin, the son of Abraham, the physician, left several works of his composition, one of which, entitled "The fourteen gates," is deposited in the Bibliothèque Impériale of Paris, Fonds Sorbonne, No. 246. Zidkeyáh, the younger brother of Benjamin, and disciple of Yehooda Yaale, is the author of the above-named Sheebooley Halékét.

A descendant of this family was the pious physician Menakhem (מְנַחֵם) אֵנָאב, who lived in Rome, and died there, renowned for his great learning and piety.

Dr. Zunz, in his *Analekten*, published in Geiger's *Zeitschrift*, mentions the family of עֲנִי, Anávim, very frequently. In describing Jechiel Chajim ben Jacob, of Bethel, he says, that individual wrote a work for a member

of the family dei Piatelli, in the year 1445, and was instrumental in procuring a copy of the two first books of Avicenna's Canon for Elia Beér (Fonte) ben Sabtai. He also mentions Joab ben Baruch, as belonging to the family of the Anavim **ענאי**.

The celebrated poet, Emanuel Romi ben Shelomo, the contemporary of the Italian Fra Guittone of Arezzo, in describing, in his poetic vision, his visit to Paradise, gives the names of several members of the Anavim family whom he had seen there.

"On leaving the place assigned for the punishment of the transgressors," said he, "where our thoughts, from what we had seen there, had become nearly confused, our mind extended its wings and took a flight towards Eden, the place assigned for reward to those who acted in conformity with the will of the Creator; we directed our course towards the ladder, the foot of which is fixed on earth, but the top reacheth heaven. On our reaching that celestial abode, we met there my lord and preceptor R. Benjamin, who instructed me in the law when I was young; R. Zidkeyáhoo, the Anav, **הענאי**, and his three sons, the pre-eminently pious physician, R. Menakhem, the righteous R. Yitzkhák, the physician, and his son, R. Benjamin."

Believing, then, that the maker of this medal was a descendant of the family **ענאים** "the humble or meek," in Italian "*Dei piatelli*," or, as expressed in Hebrew words, by Bartolucci, **מלפאטלי**, I read the abbreviation of **הע** for **הענאי**, and not **העני**.

By adopting this mode of reading, I arrive at the conclusion, that the Latin word "*umilitas*," and the Greek word, *τλωύροσις*, are merely translations of the word **הענאי**, and indicate nothing more than the name of the distinguished family from whom the maker descended.

We now come to the last six letters, which appear to come out of the mouth of the figure. I am inclined to think that the maker of the medal, having seen the design of his work complete, thought proper to render thanks to the everlasting Being for his success, as was customary with the Jews to do on completing a work, and which may still be seen on the last page in many printed books. The usual form is expressed in the following six letters, תושלבע, which are abbreviations of the words

תם ונשלם שבח לאל בורא עולם

and signify "Ended and completed; praise to God, the Creator of the universe!"

The letters on the medal are ש"א ת"ל ה"ו, I read them as abbreviations of the words

שבח אתן תהלה לאל חי וקים

and which may be rendered by "I give praise and glory to the living and everlasting God."

Having, as I venture to hope, satisfactorily decyphered the legend on the obverse, we shall now turn our attention to the Latin inscription on the reverse.

There we find various points which require great consideration. The Latin words "*post tenebras spero lucem*," have been taken by Dr. Carmoly to be the last portion of Job xvii. 13, according to the translation of the Vulgata. This is, so far, quite correct; but may we not ask, how is it that a Jew, who is supposed to have been the author of the inscription, should have departed from the plain sense of the Hebrew text אור קרוב מפני חשך, which is, "Light is near unto me in consequence of the darkness,"⁸ and adopt, in preference, the translation of the Vulgata?

⁸ Job in describing the troubles which befell him, saying, זמתי לבבי נחקו מירשי ללילה ליום ישימו אור קרוב מפני חשך "They make night into day, light to be near in consequence of darkness (trouble).

Another point of consideration is, to what particular date do the letters D.III.M. refer, so as to justify the Jews in their belief that the time of redemption was near at hand; and, if referring to the Christian era, might we not reasonably ask, what object could the Jewish author have had in view, by commemorating his pious exhortations, apparently directed to his brethren in faith alone, according to the Christian, in preference to the Jewish era?

To answer these questions we must again unfold the book of history; but to find the exact page therein for our information, we must first decide the exact meaning of the letters D.III.M.

As most of the learned members of this Society unanimously agree to consider the end of the fifteenth century, or even the beginning of the sixteenth century, as the proper period in which to place the striking of this medal, I feel inclined to adopt the opinion of Mr. Bergne, who, on seeing it, at once remarked, that the irregular position of the letters D.III.M., would not prevent the reading of them in the same manner as if they had been written M.D.III. He pointed out a considerable number of instances given in Van Loon's *Histoire Métallique des Pays Bas*, vol. i., p. 121, and I entertain no doubt of the correctness of his views, this being frequently the case in Hebrew, Arabic, Turkish, and Persian dates. But as the instances quoted by Mr. Bergne refer to letters selected from whole words, we must, for this reason, also in the medal before us seek the words which the author may have had in view in placing the numeral letters in this unusual order, otherwise we might not be justified in adopting Mr. Bergne's opinion.

My humble opinion is, that the author of the legend intended to introduce the initials of an additional sentence, bearing on the subject of redemption, and by doing so he

gained two objects, which, as I shall show afterwards, he had much at heart, viz., to exhort the Jews to remain firm in their belief of a speedy redemption, and to point out a fixed date for the appearance of the Messiah to the Christians.

I take the letter M. to represent the Hebrew מ, which I consider to have been intended as an abbreviation of the word מעולם; the III., for the Hebrew ג, an abbreviation of the word גאלנו; and the D., for the Hebrew letter ד, an abbreviation of the ineffable name of the Tetragrammaton. The three words together, then, I read either from the left to the right, or from the right to the left, and the sense of them in either way, would be, "The Eternal Being is our Redeemer from ever since."

Having now ascertained the year 1503 to have been the period when the medal was struck, we shall, on referring to history, find two extraordinary events recorded, which will serve us fully to shed an entirely new light on the subject of our enquiry.

The first of these was the preservation of the Talmud, a work containing all the authenticated traditional explanations to the law, which an apostate from the Jewish religion, a man of the name of Pfeffercorn, wanted, by his influence with the Pope, to have consigned to the flames.

Most extraordinarily the work was saved by the exertions of a man who was the chief of the Christian learned theologians of his time. Dr. Johannis Reuchlin wrote a defence of the Talmud in Hebrew, which was published for the first time, from the original manuscript, in G. Friedländer's *Berträge zur Reformation's Geschichte*, Berlin, 1837, and translated by the writer of this into English, in his *Appendix to Levinsohn's Effés Dammin*, London, 1841.

Considering the innumerable sacrifices which the Jews have always made of their lives and property, only to

remain true to their religion, we may easily judge to what extent their hope in the special protection of the Omnipotent must have been re-kindled within their bosoms, on seeing, in an age of hatred and persecution, as the fifteenth century was, a man differing from them in faith, rise and defend that book, elucidating the principles of the religion, for which they had made so many sacrifices.

The second extraordinary event, was the appearance of an individual, who, by his exhortations, prepared both Jews and Christians for the arrival of the Messiah. As this disclosure refers to the most important point in our investigation, I shall give an exact translation, of the accounts relating to that subject, as given in the works *Emék Hábákhá עמק הבכא* by R. Joseph Hacoheh, and *Tzémákh David צמח דוד* by R. David Gans.

Referring to the year 1496, which gave him birth, the author of the *Emék Hábákhá* says, "About that time there rose in Istria, near Venice, a German Jew of the name of Lemlein; he was a foolish prophet, a madman, who professed to be gifted with inspiration. Many Jews flocked around him, and believed him to be a real prophet; 'God,' said they, 'has sent him to become a ruler in Israel, for the purpose of gathering the dispersed sons of Judah from the four cardinal points of the earth.'" Even men of learning, said the author, followed him. They proclaimed fasts, girded sackcloth round their loins, and with feelings of deep contrition they left their wicked paths to turn unto God. "Our salvation," they said, "is nigh to come, and the Eternal, in proper season (which they believed then to be), will hasten our redemption to take place."

The author of the *Tzémákh David* describes that event as follows:—"In the year 5260—1500,* Rabbi Lemlein

* According to the author of the *שלשלת הקבלה*, this year was called *שנת התשובה*, the year of penitence.

announced the arrival of the Messiah. His words were believed among Israelites, and even among non-Israelites he caused great sensation, and many Christians believed in his predictions.⁹ My grandfather, R. Seligmann Gans," says the author, "was so firm in his belief, that he actually broke up his oven, which he solely used for the baking of Passover biscuits, because Lemlein assured him he would bake them next year in Jerusalem." The author further states, that he had heard his own preceptor, R. Eliezer Treves, the Chief Rabbi of Frankfort on the Maine, saying, "The predictions were not without foundation, but owing to the sins of Israel the arrival of the Messiah has not taken place.

Basnage and Wolf also give an account of Lemlein, but they give his name incorrectly as David Lemlein, his name was Asher. They have no doubt confused it with that of David Reubeni, the associate of Shelomo Molkho.

Basnage remarks, that Lemlein having soon become aware of his having prefixed too short a time for his prophecies, published that the people's sins had retarded the appearance of the Deliverer, and the nation celebrated a solemn fast to appease God, and to hasten the deliverance, which did not come.

From the above historical statements, it becomes evident that the end of the fifteenth century was the exact period in which many Jews and Christians in Germany and Italy looked out for the arrival of the Messiah. The words **פרותך אוחיל** "I hope for Thy redemption," in the Hebrew legend are thus fully explained. The date, 1503, no doubt refers to the year in which the deliverance from trouble and

⁹ רבי לעמלין הי' מבשר על ביאת משיח בשנת ר"ס ובכל תפוצות ישראל האמינו לדבריו גם בין הגוים הי' הקול הולך וגדול ורבים מהם גם האמינו לדבריו

persecution was to have taken place, as indicated by the connexion in which the letters D.III.M. appear to have with the Latin words "dies ultimus."

The Latin inscription together with the Christian era were introduced to make the object of the medal better known to the Christians, of whom, as stated before, many were his zealous adherents. For the same reason, the translation of the Vulgata has been introduced in preference to any other, the latter being considered by the Christians the most authentic. Possibly the author of the Latin inscription, may have intended to convey to the non-Israelite followers of Lemlein, some idea of what is contained in the kabbalistic portion of the Hebrew legend, where the word רשום expresses that phase of the first act of the creation, in which the spiritual world was called into existence, known by the word אור "light" that came after "darkness" חשך.

The figure on the medal has been introduced merely to evade every suspicion that could have been cast on them for striking a medal commemorating views and hopes, undoubtedly not shared by the government of that time.

For the same reason, names of individuals were introduced who did not exist at the time of the making of the medal, but in all probability referred to certain parties best known to those initiated in the secret designs of Asher Lemlein, and the irregular order of the letters indicating the date, had in addition to the reasons stated, also another: the fear of being detected by the authorities.

It remains, at present only to add another remark to the name of אלי רומי. The author of the Hebrew legend, I said before, referred to 'אלי' בר 'שמעי' who composed supplicatory prayers, the contents of which are similar to that of the legend. Now, as it has been ascertained that Asher Lemlein was the individual whose appearance the medal

was intended to commemorate, it may be interesting to find in the words **אלי רומי** the initials of **אשר לעמלין יהודי רומי** Asher Lemlein, a Roman Jew, and which may perhaps have been also a reason for introducing that name in the legend.

The word **רומי** might be taken as a term, not only referring to a native of Rome, but also to a person coming from a province belonging to the ancient Roman Empire, which included Istria, near Venice; the meaning of **Romi**, for the Roman Empire, is given in the frequent expressions of **רומי ואדומי** and **רומי ותימן** by the authors of **סליחות**.

The result of my researches, then, is, that the medal in question had nothing to do with Louis le Debonnaire, with the Jews of Lyons, or with astrology. It was intended to commemorate the predictions of Asher Lemlein respecting the arrival of the Messiah in the year 1503, as expected by many Jews and Christians at that time.

The following is the complete Hebrew legend, with the translation thereof:—

בגורת נוהג ית מרצון נצחי בתם כל משפט העדר
הצורה ראיתי אורך לזמן ישיגהו הקץ ואתבונן בהשגחת
אלי רומי השאיר רשומם ואעלו פדותך אוחיל יוי
שרי רב זסלח :

ואני ידעתי גואלי חי ואחרון על עפר יקום : מעשה ידי
כתיבת העניו בנימין בן כבוד רבי שבת : שבח אתך
תהלה לאל חי וקים

"By the decree of Him who is the guide (of the universe),
blessed be He! By His eternal will.

"When all justice ceased, and consideration failed, I beheld
the length of that period reaching the appointed end of
exile (and no redemption had yet taken place), but on re-

flecting on the ways of Providence as taught by Eli Romi (I perceived), that He caused the spiritual traces of them yet to remain, and I rejoiced.

"I fully hope in Thy redemption, O Eternal! omnipotent God, who art great and forgiving. I know it; my Redeemer liveth, the last on earth will confirm it.

"The work of my hand, the writing of Benjamin, the son of R. Shábtái, of the Anávim family.

"Praise and glory I render to the living and everlasting God."

* * By an oversight, three signs of abbreviation were omitted in the engraving; the original has those signs on the first letter of each word, so as to make up the Acrosticon.

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

No. 13, GATE STREET, LINCOLNS INN FIELDS.

SESSION 1857-58.

ORDINARY MEETINGS.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 19TH	1857
„ DECEMBER 17TH	„
„ JANUARY 28TH	1858
„ FEBRUARY 25TH	„
„ MARCH 25TH	„
„ APRIL 22ND	„
„ MAY 27TH	„

. The ANNUAL MEETING will be held on THURSDAY, JUNE 24th, 1858, at 7 o'Clock in the Evening, and the Ballot for Officers, etc., will close at 8.

Business commences at 7 o'Clock precisely.

OFFICERS.

President.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., M.R.A.S.

Vice-Presidents.

JOHN LEE, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.

THE LORD LONDESBOROUGH, K.C.H., F.R.S., F.S.A.

Treasurer.

G. H. VIRTUE, Esq., F.S.A.

Secretaries.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., F.S.A.

R. STUART POOLE, Esq., M.R.S.L.

Foreign Secretary.

JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, Esq., F.S.A.

Librarian.

JOHN WILLIAMS, Esq.

Members of the Council.

E. CLIVE BAYLEY, Esq., H.E.I.C.S.

J. B. BERGNE, Esq., F.S.A.

W. BOYNE, Esq., F.S.A.

F. W. FAIRHOLT, Esq., F.S.A.

EDWARD HAWKINGS, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.L.S.

DR. LOEWE.

W. H. MORLEY, F.R.A.S.

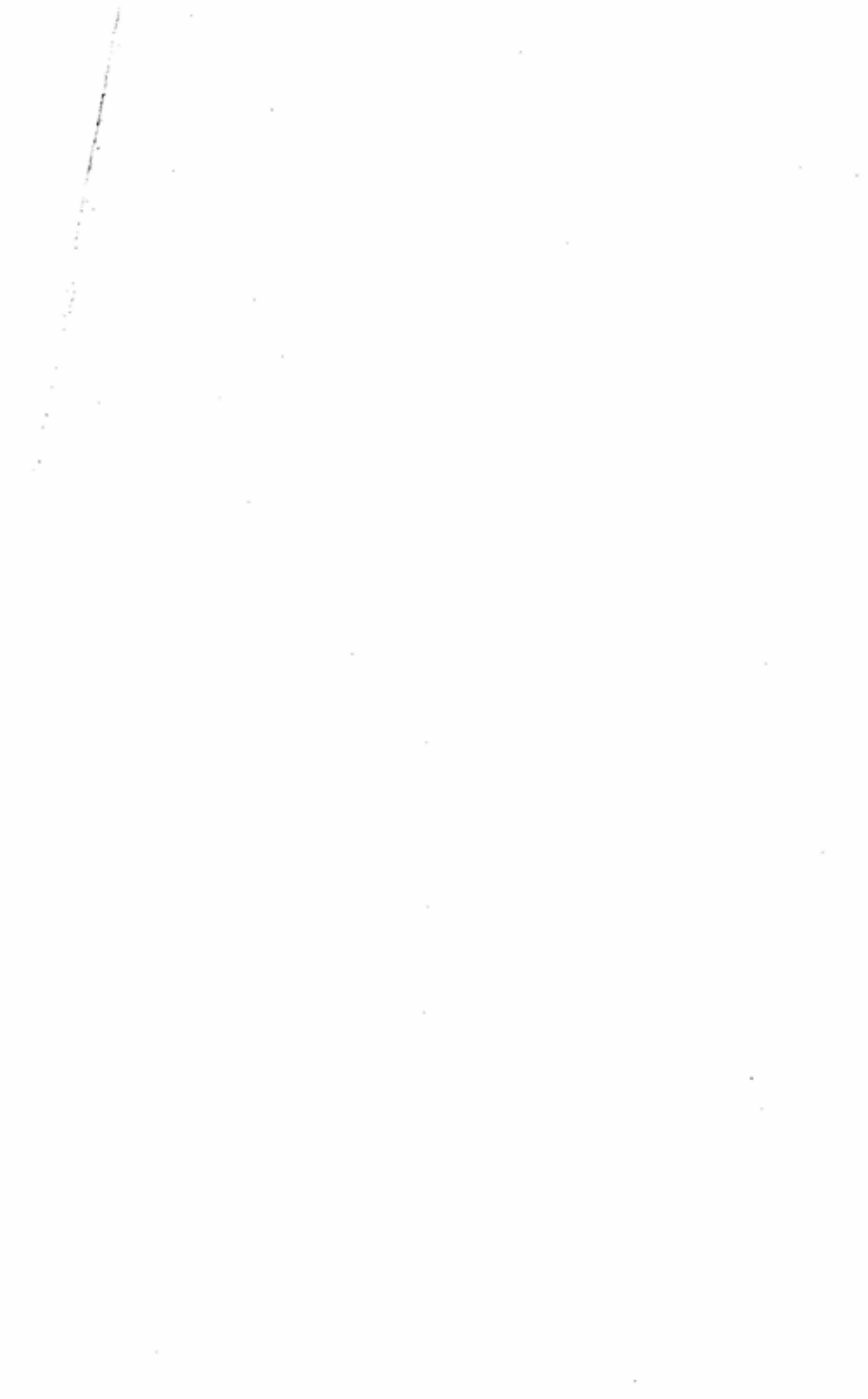
EDMUND OLDFIELD, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., M.R.S.L.

J. G. PFISTER, Esq.

C. ROACH SMITH, Esq., F.S.A.

EDWARD THOMAS, Esq., H.E.I.C.S., M.R.A.S.

H. H. WILSON, F.R.S., *President of the Royal Asiatic Society, and Boden Professor of Sanscrit, Oxford.*





"A book that is shut is but a block"

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY

GOVT. OF INDIA
Department of Archaeology
NEW DELHI.

Please help us to keep the book
clean and moving.